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WHAT'S THE MATTER

WITH THE

UNITED STATES?

A BOOK OF STARTLING FACTS FOR ALL VOTERS

BY

C. M. STEVANS

Author of "Commerce is King," "Labor is King," Etc.

"Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge of wealth from the power of the people."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
Message to Congress, 1861.

CHICAGO
C. M. STEVANS & CO.
PUBLISHERS

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WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE UNITED STATES?

LIBERTY AND SMALL STATES.

Sir Archibald Alison of Glasgow, Scotland, an eminent jurist, said in the early part of the Nineteenth Century:

"The history of mankind, from its earliest period to the present moment, is fraught with proofs of the one general truth, that it is in small states, and in consequence of the emulation and ardent spirit which they develop, that the human mind arrives at its greatest perfection, and that the freest scope is afforded both to the grandeur of moral, and the brilliancy of intellectual character. It is to the citizens of small republics that we are indebted both for the greatest discoveries which have improved the condition or elevated the character of mankind, and for the noblest examples of private and public virtue with which the page of history is adorned.

"It was in the republics of ancient Greece, and in consequence of the emulation which was excited among her rival cities, that the beautiful arts of poetry, sculpture, and architecture were first brought to perfection; and while the genius of the human race was slumbering among the innumerable multitudes of the Persian and Indian monarchies, the single city of Athens produced a succession of great men, whose works have improved and delighted the world in every succeeding age."

Justin McCarthy, the English historian, said in

1900: "One of the great developments of modern political life is the recognition of the doctrine of nationalities, the doctrine which teaches that every nationality is happiest and best ordered according as it is allowed the freedom to develop its own highest gifts and capacities, material, intellectual and moral, in its own way."

The greed of wealth is a seductive and treacherous aspect of unrighteousness, asserting the falsehood that a man's life consists in the multitude of the things that he possesses. It is the great hardener of hearts. It knows neither justice nor mercy. It befouls charity with insincerity and ostentation. It poisons the ingenuousness of youth, pollutes the wisdom of life, makes age unvenerable and death a degradation. Yet the conviction can hardly be avoided that this insane greed has become the controlling passion in the lives of a large and influential body of our people. It sways every aspiration and rules every activity with a presuming and audacious authority never before so plainly manifest.

In the senate, the college and the church, as well as in the market, the shop and the parlor, it makes its baleful spirit evident. The worst of the matter is that there seems to be a steady increase of cringing submission to its assumption and its demands, less independence of its behests, less confidence in the superiority of other motives and other satisfactions, less contentment with modest compensations of industry, less cheerfulness in conscious rectitude in an humble lot, in sobriety, in frugality, in sacrifice, in domestic simplicity, in social helpfulness.

Bird S. Coler, Comptroller of the city of New York, says:

"The spirit of corrupt commercialism has invaded politics and public life in this country, and in some

of the larger cities the invasion has for a time overrun the Government. By the spirit of commercialism in this connection I mean that public feeling, far too prevalent in this country, that politics is a business and those engaged in it are entitled to make money out of it. If a public officer has been trained in such an atmosphere he will barter a public franchise for personal or party gain, sell a contract for a commission, and, keeping his own hands out of the public treasury, will say in all sincerity: 'I am an honest man.'

"Create in any state or municipality the impression that a political pull will pass a bill or pave the way for the payment of an unjust claim, and the seeds of political dishonesty have been planted deep in fruitful soil, where they will sooner or later spring forth a harvest of corruption. Already the impression is widespread that the rules of honesty deemed necessary in private business life need not apply to the public service. Too many politicians hold that it is legitimate fruit of partisan victory to make money out of the public treasury

"A few months ago I asked an officer of one of the largest financial corporations in New York to assist me in a certain public matter. He apologized for his refusal with the explanation: 'I know you are right, but I must protect the interests of my company, and cannot afford to antagonize certain political interests. If I did we should be annoyed and oppressed in a variety of ways.'

POLITICAL POWER AS A LEVER

"Honest and legitimate political power never yet attempted to intimidate capital or oppress private business. Whenever such methods can be adopted with impunity the poison of corruption in politics

has begun to spread throughout the community, public spirit has been weakened and business honor is imperiled.

"The old system of stealing from the public treasury has passed away, and the safer and more profitable plan of bartering political influence for cash, or stock in corporations, has succeeded."

THE DANGER FROM LAWLESS WEALTH.

Self-preservation is the first law of society, as well as the first law of physical existence. A monopoly tends toward industrial aristocracy; it tends to create a condition wherein a few will control all the means of production and transmit that control from generation to generation, while the masses struggle for a bare living, with no hope of progress or independence.

The influence of concentrated wealth is so great in the social and political world that a government of the people, by the people and for the people cannot long survive if industrial independence disappears. When the monopoly idea is carried to its natural and logical conclusion we will have a government of the trusts, by the trusts and for the trusts, with the large majority of the people more helpless than they are under an absolute monarchy.

There is no hostility to capital in this country. On the contrary, everybody is desirous of accumulating that valuable thing called capital, but there is hostility to some of the methods employed by those who possess large capital to overreach those who possess less capital. There is some hostility—though not as much as there should be—toward those who use large accumulations of capital to corrupt government and purchase special privileges, and then use the power acquired to destroy

competition and trample upon the rights of weaker members of society. There is some hostility toward those who, in the acquiring of capital, have not furnished to society an adequate return for the capital acquired.

If society is in danger the danger does not come from those "who are without means and who wish to have it without work," but those who have means for which they did not work.

Bismarck in addressing an audience of farmers a few years ago told them that they would have to act together in order to protect themselves "from the drones of society, who produce nothing but laws." If we could to-day divide the people of the United States into two classes, placing in one group the producers of wealth and in another the non-producers, it would be found that the non-producing produced far more laws than the producers. So long as the non-producing element controls legislation the laws will be more favorable to those who speculate than to those who toil.—William J. Bryan in the New York Journal, July 2, 1899.

THE LABOR UNION.

From a Republican editor we have received a characteristic Republican inquiry. It is this:

"As a partisan of the party in power, I would like to know what you mean by 'offensive trusts' or 'oppressive trusts,' and why you are constantly hounding them and saying nothing about the labor union trust. Is not the labor trust as oppressive as any other trust?

"Were not the Democratic Congressmen cowardly in offering an amendment to the Republican anti-trust resolution exempting labor unions from its provisions?"

The Democratic Congressmen were not cowardly, Mr. Republican Editor, and we will tell you why. On the plains it sometimes happens that a troop of ravenous wolves surround a herd of buffalo, among which are many calves. The herd bunches closely together for protection, with horns to the foe.

Here we have two trusts—offensive and defensive. One is an offensive combination of greed, the other is a defensive combination of distress. Is it not right to thin out the wolves with a legislative shotgun, and let the buffalo go in peace?

There is a vast difference in the money-power of ten men with a million dollars each, and a million men with ten dollars each. Ten millionaires band together to kill competition, corner products, reduce wages and restrict supply. A million men oppressed by the ten organize for the maintenance of the right of every laboring man to a fair share of the wealth he creates. This is the so-called Labor Trust which Republican newspapers call an "offensive" combination.

The Labor Trust does not—nay, cannot—purchase Congressmen, dictate to courts, command nominations to public offices or plunder producers. Labor's time is thoroughly occupied in self-defense.

Labor gets even its national currency only after the Government has placed it in the hands of that legalized infamy the Banking Trust for distribution—a trust which can expand or contract it at will.

We have given here a few of the differences between the offensive trust of capital and the defensive trust of labor. They are as far apart in principle and in practice as night and day.

There is no harm in any trust that has nothing more than muscle and mechanical skill for its foundation. Such trusts should not be confounded

with the criminal trusts. Neither should they be legislated against.—New York Journal.

AN EXAMPLE IN THE TRUST SWINDLES.

The Barbed Wire Trust raised the price of barbed wire nearly 200 per cent. and declared a dividend of 30 per cent. Not a farmer had any stock in the trust, but every farmer got caught on the barbs in the price when the price went up.

The American Steel and Wire Company, that controls the output of more than 90 per cent. of the barbed wire and wire nails, has just given an object-lesson—a free exhibition of what the trusts mean. It first raised the price of barbed wire to a point where it could earn 30 per cent. on the capital employed, and then without notice the head of the firm closed down twelve factories, turned 6,200 men out of employment, the stock fell $14,000,000, and the head of the concern, who had been selling his own stock in Wall street, made, according to his secretary's report, $4,000,000 profit.

TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

Wherever I go I hear the despairing story of the once independent man who is being thrust out of business by the relentless trust system. He must sell out and become a clerk or he will be crushed.

This is scientific, but is it compatible with republican institutions? How long can a democratic republic last after the right or the opportunity to compete for wealth or power has been effectually destroyed, when a young man can no longer expect to establish an independent business for himself?

It must be plain to every man who takes the trouble to think for himself that the trust system has already partly destroyed industrial and commercial liberty in the United States, that its vast enginery is rapidly crushing out the principle of individual proprietorship. When a combination of corporations, working steadily toward the accomplishment of absolute monopoly (representing a capitalized value of two billions of dollars) stands stoutly to the support of one political party and furnishes millions and millions of dollars to a corruption fund for the intrenchment of that political party in control of the Government, where shall the young man who wants to set up in business as his own master turn his face?

It is not the cheapening of manufacture that strikes at the vitals of the nation—it is the taking away of hope from the young men of the country, it is the creation of a power greater than the Government—blind, rapacious, relentless.

This terrible change in the conditions of life in America has occurred within fifteen or twenty years. What will the conditions be when the boy born to-day is a man? The trusts represent the combined, disciplined power of two billions of dollars now. What will their wealth and power be twenty-five years hence? The trusts can nominate and elect the President of the United States and determine the laws now. What will they be able to do when the next generation is grown? Will the Constitution of the United States be spared when industrial and commercial concentration has placed the lives and fortunes of the whole people at the mercy of two or three hundred men?

The young man has little chance of rising in business in this country to-day unless he happens to be gifted with supreme genius. Every month

narrows his opportunities. He is charmed and befooled by the glittering rhetoric of trust-paid orators. He reads the figures which tell the story of rapidly increasing wealth in America, and he is dazzled by the sight of unmatched prosperity—for a few. Mr. Hanna and Mr. McKinley tell him that all this concentration of commercial and industrial power is scientific, logical, the irrestistible evolution of modern civilization; that to interfere with it would be like interfering with the tides of the ocean or the progress of the seasons.

And the young man hears this blasphemy against God and humanity, this mocking of institutions and conditions to establish which men have wet the earth with their blood and tears for a thousand years, and he believes Mr. Hanna—or does he?

In twenty years we have witnessed the growth of the trust system to a point where the President of the United States dares not to oppose its bidding. Can we find a President who has manhood and intelligence and prophecy enough in him to use the whole power of the Government to check the blind brutality of this strangling process? If so, can he be elected?—James Creelman in the New York World.

William Lloyd Garrison on "Democracy's Insidious Foes:"

"In place of a people's government we have a government trust in the hands of a few people. In Massachusetts Mr. Lodge prepares the State conventions without consulting the voters about the issues, and the proceedings are as lifeless and unanimous as a stockholders' meeting, where one director holds a majority of shares. The same is true of other States, while Mr. Hanna undertakes a similar service for the whole country and feels large

enough to assume and guarantee the contract."

CORPORATIONS AND LIBERTY.

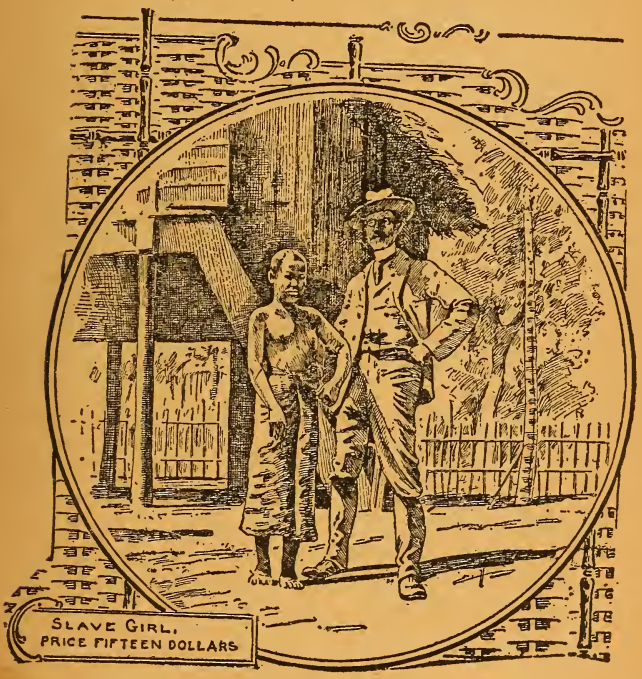
Up from all the centuries, up from all the sacrifices of all the patriots, heroes, and martyrs of the past has come this government of ours, based upon the doctrines of the equal rights of man. If we fail, liberty is lost forever. There is no virgin soil, no unbroken wilderness in which to plant the seed of liberty again as our fathers planted it. But we will not fail.

Now, what is the remedy? In my opinion one of the most important remedies is national ownership of the railways. But how can this reform be brought about? Only by the organization of a great political power, independent of party, independent of party bosses, strong enough to drive from public life the tools of monopolies and trusts and put in their places men prompted by impulses for the public welfare. When you have done this the rest is easy.

But how can this power be created? Only by creating a non-partisan organization in every voting precinct of this nation. It must be an organization interfering with no man's politics—so that every Republican, every Democrat, every Populist, every Prohibitionist, every reformer who is opposed to monopolies and trusts can organize against a candidate who can be controlled by this corrupt corporate power.

Abraham Lincoln offered these words of warning to his countrymen: "As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow. The nominal power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all

SLAVERY UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.



wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed."

Lincoln's suspicions were not groundless. Already the destructive and corrupt influences of corporate power have almost done their work. They are shattering the foundation stones of the republic. Upon each individual citizen rests the responsibility.—M. L. Lockwood, President of the American Anti-Trust League.

MONEY AND MEN.

A New York financial paper, possessing exceptional sources of information, reports the following as the "earnings" of some of the principal trust companies of that city for the year 1899:

	Per Cent.
Central Trust	263
Farmers' Loan and Trust	88
N. Y. Life Insurance and Trust	80
Union Trust	78
U. S. Mortgage and Trust	52
State Trust	50
U. S. Trust	47
Mercantile Trust	44
Manhattan	42 1-2
N. Y. Security Trust	41
Continental Trust	41
Guaranty Trust	40

Meanwhile the farmer who makes 4 per cent on the cost of his farm is lucky, the workingman who will average $15 a week the year round is exceptionally fortunate, and Wall street wonders why these classes do not share in its enthusiasm over revived prosperity.

GROWTH OF THE TRUSTS.

The trusts in 1898 and 1899 grew with a rapidity never known before. Ninety of them capitalized at $3,500,000,000. The entire amount of metallic money in the world is $8,000,000,000. Nearly one-half of that $8,000,000,000 is represented by these ninety trusts

When President Cleveland attempted to repeal the tariff laws he met with an ignominious failure. In vain he used all his power; in vain he wrote a letter, unique in American political history, pleading with the Democrats in the Senate to stand by the party's pledges and to avoid a subservience to protected interests which amounted to "party dishonor." The great protected interests were stronger than the President. They were so intrenched in Congress that the President was forced to accept the Gorman compromise. Times have changed somewhat. The political complexion of the administration has changed. But the same protected interests are still as invincible in Congress. The next move will be for international trusts, controlling the output of the whole world, and from which the victim cannot escape by moving. Then some trust magnate can command the rulers of the world, as they recently have the American executive, and "prosperity" will be gauged by the dividend squeeze which a big giant can make.

STANDARD OIL.

The Standard Oil quarterly dividend of $20,000,000 on a capital of $100,000,000 is a model instrument for distributing profits among the people takes on a rather sardonic aspect when it is remembered that of the 3,000 Standard Oil stockholders less

than a dozen hold four-fifths of the total stock and receive $16,000,000 of the $20,000,000 dividend; or, in other words, each of the favored ones gets about $7,000,000 profit yearly.

STEEL MILLS.

"What a revelation of the spirit of our modern corporation has been given in the last few days in the astounding statements of the profit of the Carnegie company last year and for the present year. A company which is expecting to make from $40,000,000 to $50,000,000 in the current year on a capital of $25,000,000—to what extent water we do not know—asking the State to tax the whole nation under the guise of a tariff, that it may be able to increase the wages of its workingmen.—Dr. Heber Newton.

To-day there are the Standard Oil company, the Carnegie company, the sugar trust, the International Navigation company, the National City Bank, and other colossal corporations which overshadow the government itself and are never satisfied.

When will they have enough?—Chicago Tribune (Rep.).

"Over ten billion dollars of our indebtedness of forty billion is due to English money lenders, who introduced among us the gold standard. Under the low prices of property that has resulted, these same Englishmen have been, through mortgage scales and cash purchases, and are now, rapidly coming into the possession of the propery of our once prosperous citizens. Englishmen now own a majority of the stock of our railroads. They own fifty million acres of land along the Northern Pacific Railroad, taken in under a mortgage.

"They own large tracts of land in nearly every State in the Union. Lord Scully of England owns 40,000 acres of land in Logan county, Illinois, and 40,000 acres in Sangamon county adjoining. He owns 50,000 acres in Southern Nebraska and Northern Kansas. Englishmen own a beautiful island in Lake Superior in the State of Michigan, containing 80,000 acres of rich land. They were recently asked what they were going to do with it, and they replied that they were 'going to stock it with English pheasants.' Lord Scully has put newly imported Russians on his lands in Illinois and introduced among them the Irish rack rent landlord system. Thus our lands, the natural homes of the people, are passing into the hands of the English and American money lenders. A land of liberty is being desecrated, and by laws that have evaded the intelligence of our people. The awakening cannot come too soon! Those who would evade and condone the situation are criminally negligent!

"We are also being deprived of our balance of trade. We have to pay England about $400,000,000 annually in interest on the ten billion of dollars or more that our people owe to her money lenders. So that our balance of trade must be as much as $400,000,000 annually before any money can come to us."—Coin on "Money, Trusts and Imperialism."

Price lists show plainly the extent to which McKinley trusts are enabled to rob the American consumer, and also show conclusively that there are no corresponding trusts in operation in England. The following table of comparative prices has been compiled from the most recent price lists, great care being taken to get corresponding grades and dates in their preparation.

	U. S. price.	Eng. price.
Lead, 100 lbs	$4.70	$3.64
Litharge, lb	.08⅜	.04¾
Wire, smooth, 100 lbs	3.05	2.50
Barb wire, galvanized, 100 lbs	3.80	2.39
Wire nails, 100 lbs	3.38	2.55
Iron ore, ton	6.125	5.25
Tin plate, 100 lbs	4.85	3.60
Sheet steel, 100 lbs	2.70	2.07
Galvanized iron, 100 lbs	3.78	3.23
Steel beams, 100 lbs	2.30	1.80
Borax, refined, lb	.075	.034
Lime, barrel	.90	.62
Cream of tartar (crystals) lb	.22⅛	.159
Bleaching powder, lb	.02¾	.015
Castor oil, lb	.12¼	.066
Caustic soda, 100 lbs	2.42	1.84
Cement (Portland best), barrel	2.25	1.11

Every article in the above list is controlled in this country by a monopoly trust, deriving special privileges from the Dingley high tariff law. And every article quoted is now selling for more than it sold before the organization of its particular trust. If there were a corresponding trust in England the article would sell for practically the same price in that country as in this.—Helena Independent.

It is undeniable that the most serious danger that threatens the perpetuity of untrammeled popular sovereignty in this republic is the pernicious and constantly growing activity of powerful corporations in politics. They go into elections, federal, state, county and municipal, with their money and their agents, having some selfish end to attain, and often succeed in defeating the purpose for which manhood suffrage was instituted.

The enormous number of employes which many of them have in their service tempts them to add coercion to their other methods for securing votes for the candidate favored by them. Failing to secure a sufficient number of city councilmen, legislators or congressmen, pledged to pass laws favoring their interests, they pursue the end in view through an organized lobby, which too frequently succeeds in tempting public servants, originally honest, to betray the trust of their constituents.

If such corporations happen to be defeated in both these forums, they proceed to invade the temple of justice with their money-changing devices and employ their corrupting machinations upon the courts and the officials intrusted with the execution of the laws.—Kansas City Times.

T. H. Jones, an industrial subcommission witness, said:

"Unionism, as I see it, is the most selfish organization that ever has been sprung on mankind. It desires bread and butter for the union man and his family and starvation and death for the nonunion man and his family. Unions have decreed that all men outside of their organization must be unionized or they can not work. I claim that an organization that seeks to deny the right of existence to all men outside of that organization has no rights whatever on American soil."

INDUSTRY AND LIBERTY.

"The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York. The

farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain. The miners who go a thousand feet into the earth or climb 2,000 feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured in the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who in a back room corner the money of the world."—W. J. Bryan in the campaign of 1896.

"Liberty cannot long endure," says Webster, "in any country where the tendency is to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few."

"Foreign noblemen own more land in this country than was comprised in the thirteen original colonies."

MACHINERY MULTIPLYING WEALTH FOR THE OWNERS.

One-horse power is equivalent to the power of six men. Thus, if the work of 63,481 men in the flour mills of the United States is supplemented with the use of 752,365 horse-power, the power is equivalent to the work of 4,514,190 additional men. In other words, the power does seventy-one times as much work as the employes. The ratio differs radically in different industries. Mr. Wright finds that the total horse-power used in the United States in 1890 was about 6,000,000, equivalent to the work of 36,000,000 men, while only 4,476,884 persons were employed, the two kinds of power having a ratio of 8 to 1. A force of 36,000,000 men repre-

sents a population of 180,000,000, so that, if the products of the manufacturing establishments were all made by hand, it would require a population of that size to do it, with none left for agriculture, trade, transportation, mining, forestry, the professions, or any other occupations.

About the middle of the nineteenth century Sir John Lubbock of England declared: "There is likely to be an effort made by the capital class to fasten upon the world a rule through their wealth, and by means of reduced wages place the masses upon a footing more degrading and dependent than has ever been known in history. The spirit of money worshipers seems to be rapidly developing in this direction."

A few years later Abraham Lincoln reiterated the same sentiment in his message to Congress in 1861. This important warning is omitted in later histories:

"Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against the approach of returning despotism. There is one point to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. * * * Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already have, and which if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost."

Near the close of the war, in reply to a letter from a friend in Illinois, President Lincoln said:

"Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that

this cruel war is nearing its close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of the flower of American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has been indeed a trying hour for the republic; but I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country.

"As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless."

As the result of long and careful investigation Miss Jane Addams of Hull House fame, Chicago, makes the statement that drunkenness and laziness are the cause of but 13 per cent of pauperism, while over against that is set the fact that 41 per cent is the result of sickness, due not to dissipation, but to the unsanitary conditions which surround the poor in large cities. Along the same line is the further statement that each succeeding generation born in large cities shows a decreasing physical stamina, most of the paupers coming from the third city-born generation.

If nearly one-half of the pauperism in Chicago is due to sickness caused by unsanitary and unhealthful surroundings the city should give immediate attention to the improvement of conditions in the slums as a matter of mere business economy. This would seem to be the last argument needed

to set in force a movement which is also demanded by every consideration of religion and philanthropy.

The Revue Scientifique contains statistics showing the intimate relation between the number of people in a house and the rate of mortality. Thus in London, where the average number of inhabitants to a house is 8, the death rate is 23 per thousand; in Berlin, with 32 persons to a dwelling, the death rate is 25. Paris has 35 persons to a house and a death rate of 28. St. Petersburg has 52 persons, with a death rate of 41, and Vienna, the most overcrowded city in Europe, with 55 persons in each building, has the largest death rate, 47.

Owing to the wide absorption of public utilities by vast corporations and the exaltation of city life over that of the country, American municipalities are becoming as crowded as those in Europe.

BANKS.

The National City Bank acted for the Government in the transfer of the huge payments from the Pacific railroads to the treasury, its intermediation preventing disturbance of the money market. The treasury acting alone would have caused a shock to the mechanism of finance.

It was also the fiscal agent of the United States in the payment of the $20,000,000 to Spain under the terms of the treaty of Paris, in payment for the Philippine Islands. More recently the Secretary of the Treasury has made it the place of first deposit for the internal revenue receipts of $1,000,000 a day, which he is diverting from the treasury in order to prevent an accumulation there of surplus funds necessary for the conduct of the people's business. This transaction is not only profitable to the

bank, but it gives it valuable prestige by advertising its peculiar relation to the administration.

Two hundred and forty-five thousand and odd individuals and firms doing business on their own capital have failed since 1862, with liabilities of more than seven billion dollars.

Over twelve thousand banking corporations doing business with one dollar of their own and one dollar of the people's money have, since 1862, made net profits of more than five billion dollars.

In Jackson's time, one national bank, with $28,000,000 in capital, the majority of which was owned by the government, openly attempted to control the election of President, and would have succeeded with a less popular man than Jackson.

The banking institutions of the country now control fully five hundred times as much capital, and their chief stockholders openly boasted in 1896 that no man inimical to their interests could become President of the United States.

The Textile Record of America, in January of 1898, asked the pertinent question, "Upon what ground of equity can it be demanded that the credit of the government should be given to banks for the profit of their stockholders?" The government is willing to loan money on the collateral of the bank, but not on that of the countryman's farm.

SENATORIAL ELECTIONS.

Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," gives General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, credit for introducing the first resolution proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by a direct

vote of the people. The resolution was introduced in the Forty-sixth Congress, on January 31, 1881.

Nothing more clearly shows the growth of public opinion or more fully demonstrates the irresistible force of a good idea than the progress which this reform has made during the past eighteen years. The Democratic House of Representatives, in the Fifty-second Congress, and again in the Fifty-third, adopted resolutions proposing such an amendment, but the resolutions died in the Senate committee. No one who has watched the trend of events can doubt that public sentiment will finally prevail. If the amendment is once submitted to the States for ratification they will make quick work of its adoption, for there is scarcely a State where there is not an overwhelming majority in favor of this effort to bring the government closer to the people. The Legislature of Nebraska, at its recent session, adopted a resolution declaring in favor of the popular election of Senators. In the State Senate the resolution was adopted without a roll call; in the House the vote stood eighty-four to five—a little more than sixteen to one in favor of the proposition.

Several reasons may be suggested for the change.

First—Popular election would make the Senator more truly the representative of the people for whom he speaks.

Second—Whatever may have been the original reason for the present method of electing Senators, new conditions have made a change imperative. The corporations are now potent in their influence, and can control the action of Legislatures much easier than they can popular elections. It is sometimes argued that party conventions would be as liable to nominate undesirable candidates for the Senate as Legislatures are to elect them, but there

is an important difference. When a convention nominates an undesirable man the people sit in judgment upon the nomination, and the fear of rejection at the polls acts as a restraint upon the convention. When a Legislature elects an undesirable man for the Senate there is no appeal from its decision.

Third—The present method of electing Senators interferes seriously with State affairs. Where the State Legislatures meet every two years, two Legislatures out of every three elect a Senator, and when a Senatorial election is pending party lines are drawn and the candidate's capacity for State affairs is often overshadowed by the necessity of having a party majority in the Legislature.

Fourth—Sometimes the Legislature adjourns without electing, and then the State has only half of its Senatorial representation for two years.

Fifth—If there was no other reason for the change, a sufficient reason would be found in the scandals growing out of Senatorial elections. The charge of direct bribery is made with increasing frequency, and indirect forms of bribery are even more common.

An amendment to the Constitution will enable the people to select their Senators as they select their other officers, thus giving them the choice and placing within their power the means of punishment if official trust is betrayed.—William J. Bryan, in the New York Journal, May 4, 1899.

CONTRACT FRAUDS.

BATTLESHIPS.

One of the mysteries attending our progress as a great sea-power and world-power is the powerful

contrast between the contract price and the actual cost of warships.

Here are a few examples which we cull from the official reports bearing on the subject. The total cost of the battleship Oregon was $5,914,021.90, an excess of $2,612,511.90 over her contract price. The Massachusetts actually cost when finished $5,401,844.97, which was $2,311,844.97 more than the contractors stipulated to construct her for. The Indiana's contract price was $3,090,000, but her actual cost was $2,243,708.05 above that sum.

In short, it appears that the rule of naval construction is that the United States government pays an average of about $2,000,000 for every battleship added to its new navy over and above the sum named in the contract as the price to be paid to her builders.

Uncle Sam appears to be at an inverted naval bargain-counter, at which all the goods he purchases are marked up from 40 to 50 per cent above regular prices. He is undoubtedly becoming a sea-power and a world-power—and a good thing for the battleship builders! No wonder the question is pressed, Why should not the government build its own ships, as it makes its own guns?

THE CARTER CASE.

Captain Oberlin M. Carter was tried and convicted by court-martial for frauds in the contracts for harbor work at Savannah and elsewhere at the south. He was captain in the corps of engineers and let contracts for the improvements under his charge. The contractors were the members of the American Construction Company, composed of New York capitalists and speculators. Captain Carter was also overseer of the work, inspected the

materials used by the contractors and audited their bills.

The amount of the frauds and thefts in which Captain Carter was implicated was $2,000,000 or $3,000,000. On conviction he was sentenced to dismissal from the army, to have the shameful record of his sentence published in a newspaper printed at his home town in Pennsylvania, to pay a fine of $5,000 and to be imprisoned for five years.

Every kind of social, political and financial influence was applied to procure a reversal of the sentence of the military court or to delay its execution. The case became a flagrant public scandal. He was tried and sentenced two years ago. Under a pretense of examining the record, Secretary of War Alger, Attorney General Griggs and President McKinley held up the report of the court-marital for a year and a half. In the meantime small offenders convicted by the military courts were sent to prison by the score. At length, when obstruction was no longer possible, the record of the court-martial was approved and execution issued.

Then proceedings in the civil courts were interposed. These finally came to an end. In the meantime attempts to recover the stolen millions for the loss of which he was responsible are abandoned.

THE POSTOFFICE.

There seems to be little doubt that the railroads have long ceased to carry the mails at reasonable rates. The enormous reductions that have taken place in passenger and freight rates since 1878 have not been applied to the mails. While the improved facilities and methods which have come in during that period have resulted in a reduction of 35 per cent on freight and 17½ per cent on passenger

rates, the government has had no reduction whatever on the rates charged for carrying the mails. While every large private shipper is getting commutation rates, the government, which is the largest and most regular shipper, is paying on the basis of the railway conditions of a quarter of a century ago.

The average mail haul is 813 miles. Where a passenger and his baggage are hauled over this distance the commutation charge is 2.07 cents a mile. Where 200 pounds of first-class freight are hauled over this length of track the shipper gets a commutation rate of 1.37 cents a mile. For 200 pounds of mail the rate paid is $94.77 a mile. If the passengers carried in 1898 had been charged on the basis of the mail rates the gross passenger revenues of the railroads, instead of being $267,000,000, would have been $80,000,000,000.

The $35,582,439 paid to the railroads for the transportation of mails in 1898 was at least double what any private corporation would have paid for the same service.

It seems clear that this is the vital point upon which the efforts at reform should be concentrated. While the second-class mail matter is a burden at this moment, probably it would not be so if all the mail matter were carried at rates corresponding with those which the railroads give to express companies and to all large private shippers. If the railway charges on mail matter were reduced 25 per cent there would be no deficit in the postal revenues. In 1898 this would have saved the postal department $8,895,609, and the department would have finished the year with a surplus of $2,284,833, instead of an actual deficit of $6,610,776. This is the kernel of the matter.

Every attempt to obtain any trustworthy infor-

mation on this subject from the postoffice department is a failure. The department shuts up like a clam whenever approached on this matter. This is not to be wondered at, since the railway mail service is under the management of the Second Assistant Postmaster General, who was one of the special counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad, and was appointed because of that fact. He cannot be expected to give any information adverse to the interests of the railroads.

The people of the United States ought to understand that the real cause of the postal deficit is found in railway overcharges of the most flagrant nature. The truth should be known. While other shippers have enjoyed an average reduction of 35 per cent in freight rates since 1878, the government has received no reduction whatever on the rates charged for carrying the mails. The private shipper gets a commutation rate of 1.37 cents a mile on freight where the government is charged $94.77 a mile for the same weight of mail. The disparity is so enormous and so unnecessary that the mere statement of the figures will convince most people of the need for immediate reform.

If the railway charges on mail matter were reduced 25 per cent there would be no deficit, and there would no longer be any need of bothering with the minor affair of second-class rates. That such a reduction would still leave a liberal margin of profit for the railroads will be evident to any one who examines the figures. The $35,000,000 now paid annually for hauling the mails will be seen to be at least double what any private corporation would pay for the same service. A reasonable readjustment of the railway charges would at once place the department on a self-sustaining basis, with a surplus of several millions in place of the

present annual deficit.—Chicago Tribune (Repub.).

The Secretary of the United States Senate paid out some astonishing sums for the personal gratification of Senators in less than two months of last year.

He subscribed for all the leading magazines and newspapers for each Senator that cares to read them and paid $100 each to the fourteen Senators who do not indulge in that luxury, as a commutation for the periodicals they might have had if they had wanted them. He paid $900 for the telegrams of Senators and $200 for engraving and printing their personal visiting cards. He furnished hair-brushes to all but the fourteen who do not read, and who seem to think that brushing the hair is an indulgence savoring of aristocracy. To the less wild and free, the luxury lovers, he furnished a large quantity of expensive toilet soap, besides cologne waters, quinine and calomel pills, soda mints and five gallons of witch hazel—for the laving of unspecified bruises.

The United States Government is great and rich. It can afford to suffer this sort of petty peculation. But can "senatorial dignity" afford to practice it?

SENATORIAL LARCENY.

The Senators of the United States are supplied with newspapers, magazines, visiting cards, hair brushes, toilet soap, cologne water, quinine, calomel, soda mint, witch hazel and a long list of other personal luxuries free of charge. The Government, or, in other words, the taxpayers, foot the bills. Thus has accommodation grown into abuse.

Roman senators in the most decadent days of Rome did not dream of sponging on the people in such a bald-faced manner. When the Senators ex-

pend $5,000 or so of the people's money on a congressional funeral junket they have at least the excuse that they are paying "the last token of respect" to the deceased, who has probably himself assisted at more than one such congenial function. The people do not mind being robbed so much as they do being made the victims of luxurious petty larceny on the part of their public servants. The Senators are not supposed to be the curled and perfumed darlings of the nation, but if they choose to consider themselves in that light they should at least pay the bills.—Los Angeles Herald.

POLITICAL PENSIONERS.

Over 250 incapacitated employes are held in service by the Government in the Department of the Interior.

Secretary Ethan Allen Hitchcock, formerly minister to Russia, revealed this remarkable condition in his department in response to a resolution which was introduced by Senator Gallinger March 16 and which was adopted. Its purpose, on the surface, was to ascertain the number and ages of employes in all the departments. Secretary Hay reported three over 70 years of age in the State Department, and Secretary Long one over 80 and twelve over 70. Other cabinet officers have made similar reports. The Government thus saves children the expense of taking care of their fathers and pays off political debts to influential relatives.

"EVERY MAN HAS HIS PRICE AND I HAVE THE MONEY."—Statement of National Political Money Boss.

MILITARISM.

The people occasionally get a really striking object lesson of the way they are fleeced to support

the military establishment. An example of such light is found in the proceedings of the House last Wednesday on the army appropriation bill. It seems that the pending bill provides for the enormous sum of $3,000,000 for traveling expenses of enlisted men after their discharge from service. In the effort of a member to reduce the sum one-third we get a glimpse of the bare-faced robbery to which the people are subjected in order to line the pockets of shoulder-strappers. It is astonishing, in the first place, that mileage computations in the military service are made on the basis of a statute enacted before there was a railroad in the United States. The cost of travel is now, and has been for many years, a mere fraction of what it was in the ante-railway period.

As an example of the outrage perpetrated upon the people in this manner is was stated in the course of discussion on the bill that "a colonel would be allowed $2,389 to travel from San Francisco to Washington, whereas his railroad fare would be but $77." That is to say, the colonel receives from the Government a sum more than thirty times in excess of the actual cost of his transportation. It is noteworthy that an attempt to stop this outrageous scheme of public robbery and to introduce an honest mileage system was promptly suppressed.—Los Angeles Herald.

DRIFTING TOWARD MILITARISM.

A permanent increase of the regular army to 100,000 men, if not to a higher number, now seems to be the inevitable result of the policy of "imperial expansion" to which we have been committed. The fact must be faced before long, and it is better that it should be faced and clearly understood before the country has drifted into a situation

where intelligent consideration and deliberate judgment on the matter is no longer possible.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

PARTISANSHIP.

Senator Cullom of Illinois said: "I am not prepared to say yet that I shall vote for the Davis amendment providing for free trade, but only because I do not understand how far duty to the party will compel us to go." So we see that the Illinois statesman does not hesitate for a moment to place duty to party above duty to country and obedience to one's own convictions of right.

When we reflect upon the real purpose of party organization we see that it is to capture the machinery of Government—that is, the offices—in order that every function may be used primarily for the purpose of perpetuating the party machine. No fair-minded man will deny this proposition. It follows necessarily that no department of government is safe from the assaults of party managers. The first object of maintaining the streets, the water works, the parks, the libraries, the schools, and indeed the whole paraphernalia of government, is to provide places for those who can render service to the bosses and secure sufficient votes to perpetuate their authority. And this is not due to the existence of any special variety of venality in the bosses or officeholders. They, like the rest of us, are just people.

Political partyism has for its basis the great underlying fallacy that the purpose of life is to get individual success. This false notion, which so many of our people have not yet outgrown, is the poison root from which grows every species of vice and misery, of lack and surplus that characterize our present-day civilization.

So long as government by party continues no department of our Government is safe. Every branch of it, even the public schools, which should be the citadel of liberty, will be used primarily to fasten upon the people the hierarchy of party, just as the king in ancient times used every function of government to perpetuate his reign.

The most encouraging sign in the political horizon is the growth of the non-partisan spirit. We are approaching the time when a majority of the voters will vote as patriots and not as partisans.

When every citizen votes according to the dictates of an awakened social conscience and an enlightened intellect our public schools and all our beneficent institutions will be safe, and there is no other safety except that which is thus secured.—Samuel M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo.

The partisanship of the Supreme Court has long since caused it to lose its sacro-sanct reputation and be known as a body of fallible lawyers having a well-paid situation for life.

It owes its formation and existence to English debtors as a tribunal for the settlement of English debts.

IMPERIALISM.

"McKinley is working as they work in monarchies—under the cover of secrecy. He has ordered all press dispatches to be censored. He has ordered all that which reflects upon the administration cut out. That is the way they do in monarchies.

"McKinley has overstepped the powers given the President by the Constitution. Whoever gave him the right to have a policy of his own? If, one year ago last April, when patriotism and pub-

lic spirit were at a higher point than at any time since '61, when the hearts of men were moved as though by a benediction, if at that time anyone had said that this country would free one people and put the fetters upon another people, every one would have exclaimed, 'Impossible.' But just this has happened.

"Mr. Hanna, when he returned from Europe, was interviewed upon what he thought of England's government. He said—and I quote word for word from that interview—he said that in some respects he liked England's form of government better than ours. What he liked about it was its stability. Mark that word, 'stability.' What is a banker's idea of stability? It is to have all lines of finance trained behind his banking counter. That's stability for him. These wealthy men have produced what they call stability by the organization of trusts which control business, which places firmly the volume of trade in their hands. Now they want stability of government. By stability of government they mean one mind, and that one mind the resultant of their power and influence. What did Mr. Hanna mean when he said he liked the stability of England's government? He meant that he favored a government which was not subject to the caprices and passions of the people."—Congressman Charles A. Towne.

As a close imitator of George III, William the Conqueror, by the grace of the Republican party President of the United States, has greatly outdone his illustrious exemplar. George III established a precedent in attempting to rule the American colonies outside of the Constitution, but his imitator has gone the autocratic king one better by inducing Congress to set itself above the Constitu-

tion, the creation above the creator, and to inaugurate a colonial policy unknown to the Constitution whence Congress derives all its powers. The British king imposed only a trifling duty upon tea and a few other unimportant articles on the American colonies, but William the Conqueror imposes a percentage of the whole Dingley tariff schedule upon the unfortunate island of Porto Rico and its starving people.

The British king taxed tea and caused a revolution; the American conqueror taxes everything. Because these wretched inhabitants of the island are too weak to revolt the American conqueror turns them over to the tender mercies of trusts and combines. Republican conventions have heretofore been in the habit of passing resolutions of sympathy with Ireland; now they may very propertly substitute Porto Rico. While the inhabitants of Hawaii, less than 75,000, exclusive of the imported coolie labor, are granted a territorial form of self-government, Porto Rico's million inhabitants are placed at the absolute mercy of the American conquerer and have no voice in the government of the island. They may starve, but the right to be heard is denied to them.—Denver Post.

Senator Spooner's bill for the control of the Philippines gives the President powers over these islands and their inhabitants not exceeded by the powers of any emperor on earth. It simply declares that "all military, civil and judicial powers shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion." This is as far from "government of the people, for the people and by the people," as law

can possibly get. It is the essence of absolutism.—Grand Rapids Democrat.

First, we have the message of the President, delivered to Congress four months ago, in which he declares it to be our "plain duty" to abolish all customs tariffs on Porto Rican products and give them free access to our markets. Then we have the report of the War Secretary recommending the same course. Then we have the House committee on ways and means, introducing a bill in conformity with these recommendations. Then entered Oxnard, the agent of the sugar trust, and mark the changes. First, the bill for free commercial intercourse between Porto Rico and the mainland was withdrawn by stealth, and in its place one imposing tariff duties substituted. Then the President changed from plain duty to tariff and began to bulldoze members of Congress to pass the substituted measure, and now the same performance is to be gone through in the Senate. Does anyone believe this change to have been made without consideration?

The President is directed by the Constitution to give Congress information on the state of the Union. He shall "recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." But he shall perform this duty "from time to time" openly, regularly, in a public manner, by formal and official messages to the Congress. He shall not lobby privately with members. He shall only recommend measures for the consideration of Congress. He shall not urge the passage of a particular measure; only its "consideration." Above all, he shall not urge that it be hurried through. He must veto hasty legislation.

Apropos to these Constitutional duties of the President, a Republican Senator said: "I will vote for the treaty and the tariff at the request of the President. I consider both dangerous, foolish and unwise. The message of the President and the bill appropriating $2,000,000 for Porto Rico have rendered it impossible for us to justify our course. I cannot explain my course to my people except to say that the President wanted it, and I did it for his sake and his alone."

President McKinley in the first ten months of his administration pardoned ninety-eight bank wreckers and bank swindlers, which is four times the total of pardons granted by any other President.

WHAT IT COST.

Henry Loomis Nelson gives the first exhaustive statement of the cost of our recent war with Spain and of Mr. McKinley's war in the Philippines. His figures are drawn from official reports and estimates to which he gave a careful and conscientious examination.

Mr. Nelson finds the cost of the war with Spain to have been $259,341,299; of the war in the Philippines $64,617,267 in 1899 and a prospective cost of $100,885,934 for the current year—a total of $424,844,500. The increased cost of the army and navy for the present fiscal year over 1897, due to our policy of military "expansion," will be $100,885,934. And with the pensions on account of these wars still to come, the total expenditures of the Government have increased from $365,744,160 in 1897 to $605,072,180 in 1899—or from $5.01 per capita of the population to $7.97 per capita.

As the war in the Philippines is now admitted by Senator Beveridge and Representative Grosvenor

to be a commercial enterprise, Mr. Nelson estimates the returns from the whole venture in the two wars, and taking the wildest guess of the imperialists as to the value of the future trade he shows a net loss to the nation of over $500,000,000.

Those who doubt that the United States is a world-power of the first magnitude should have been present at the reception tendered to-night by the President and Mrs. McKinley to the diplomatic corps. The scene was more resplendent than the New Year's reception.

The jeweled insignia of the various orders and the splendid uniforms of the continental ambassadors and ministers and of the orientals were in marked contrast to the somber attire of the American officials, but the handsome raiment lent an air of old world magnificence to the scene and made a foil for the beautiful robes of the handsome women. —Jan. 10, 1900, Times-Herald (Rep.).

The tension in Washington over the question of social rank and official precedence has now reached, if it has not passed, the limit of safety. A social convulsion can be averted only by prompt and heroic action on the part of Congress. The existence of the nation was first threatened by the uncertainty as to whether the army, in the person of General Miles, or the navy, as represented by Admiral Dewey, should head the line at the President's New Year's reception. The trouble was averted by a decision in favor of the army. Now a new trouble has arisen. The wife of the admiral has broken the rules and walked in ahead of the wives of the supreme court, and the President has a "domestic trouble" on his hands.

The obvious remedy is the passage of "an act to establish the office and department of lord chamber-

lain and to regulate the social rank and precedence of all persons in the service of the United States, and of all other persons." No lesser remedy will suffice. While all men, according to the Declaration of Independence, are created equal, they are made unequal by accepting a government office, and this inequality should be officially recognized. Otherwise we might have the wife of a $1,200 clerk taking precedence of the wife of an $1,800 clerk, or a third assistant secretary "rushing the line" to get ahead of a first assistant, and then what would become of the Government?—New York World (Dem.).

The Declaration of Independence is not much appreciated at the end of the nineteenth century, even in the land of Jefferson. Its blatant platitudes seem somewhat absurd in the more accurate knowledge of our times, while a literal interpretation of it is too ridiculous for a Western cowboy.—From Editorial in the London Post.

If by merely stating in any resolution or law passed by Congress that "the Constitution does not apply to this," what assurance have the people that the laws thus enacted will not be to their detriment? Yet that is what our national lawmakers propose to do. The Beveridge amendment to the Porto Rican tariff bill declares that it shall not be construed as extending the Constitution over the island, "and it is hereby declared that the Constitution of the United States is not extended over Porto Rico."

This would be amusing where it not fraught with so much danger to our institutions. The idea that Congress, the creature of the Constitution, can extend or limit the Constitution, is absurd. Suppose the Beveridge idea should prevail and the

Supreme Court should declare some pet law to be unconstitutional, all that would be needed would be for Congress to re-enact the law and declare that "the Constitution does not apply to this." When the time comes that the Constitution of the United States may be suspended by Congressional enactment it will be time for the formation of another kind of Government.—Omaha World Herald.

CONGRESSIONAL IDEALS.

Mr. Hill challenged Mr. Hitt to produce a single instance where the colonies of England, Germany or France had a representative in the home or imperial legislature.

To this Mr. Hitt replied: "We are essentially a popular representative Government, and a republic does not need to take lessons from monarchies in the application of its own system."

The London Spectator remarked in an article at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war:

"The American President, however, is authority visible and personified. When he is armed with the terrible and far-reaching war powers which Mr. Lincoln formulated and employed with such astonishing results there is no man, except the Russian czar, who is so obviously the direct ruler of men. The Governor General of India no doubt wields as great powers as the President, or indeed greater, for he can, in fact, legislate as well as execute; but then he does not, in theory at any rate, possess so secure a tenure. During his tenure of office the President cannot be dismissed. The Governor General may be recalled or overruled. No wonder, then, that the American President is a figure of such intense interest to the whole Anglo-Saxon world. At this moment it is his order and

his will alone which direct the course of the war. Whatever he does, America must endure Mr. McKinley till his term of office is over. Congress might twitch his elbow a little if they were angry with him, but they could not make him change his policy."

Up to January 26, 1900, the Republican party was committed by its past record and the utterances of its leaders to the simple declaration of President McKinley's message:

The markets of the United States should be opened up to her products. Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico and give her products free access to our markets.

There has never been a question that we could do this "plain duty" constitutionally. The only question has been whether or not we could do anything else constitutionally, as well as honestly, justly and wisely.

The policy declared a duty in the message of President McKinley met the instantaneous approval of all classes of American citizens. It appealed to the sober common sense of the plain people. It was a policy so clear, so square with the invariable precedents of the republic in acquiring territory, that until the tariff bolt fell in Washington the country never dreamed of treating Porto Rico otherwise than a territory or its inhabitants as citizens.—Chicago Times-Herald (Rep.).

Concerning this policy, Thomas B. Reed said: "When we enter upon a policy of empire we cease to be a moral factor in the world's progress."

Webster, in defining an empire, says that it always comprises "variety in the nationality of, or

the forms of administration in, constituent and subordinate portions."

"I had the humiliation as representative of the American Government of sitting in my office in Pretoria and looking upon envelopes bearing the official seal of the American Government opened and officially sealed with a sticker notifying me that the contents had been read by the censor at Durban. I looked up international law, but failed to find anywhere that one military power could use its own discretion as to forwarding the official dispatches of a neutral Government to its representative in a beseiged country."

"The cable service for the Transvaal was absolutely cut off. I filed one cable in the interest of an American at Pretoria, which was refused absolutely by the censor at Durban."

"The situation was such that I could not remain in Pretoria, while the Government at home continued to leave me in the position of a British consul and not an American consul."

"When I accepted my post as consul I knew nothing of any secret alliance between America and Great Britain and have seen nothing in the regulations which make the consul of the American republic subject to the whims and caprice of an English military censor."—Statement of Consul Macrum on his arrival at Washington from the Capital of the Boer Republic.

My friends, two visions rise before me: One of a nation growing in population, riches and strength; reaching out the strong hand to bring within its dominion weaker and distant races and lands; holding them by force for the rapid wealth they may bring—with perhaps the occasional glory, success and sacrifice of war; a wondrously

luxurious life into which the fortunate few shall enter; an accumulation of magnificence which for a term will charm and dazzle, and then the shadow of the awful question whether human nature has changed, and the old law, that history repeats itself, has lost its force, whether the ascending splendor of imperial power is to be followed by the descending gloom of luxury, decay and ruin. The other of a nation, where the spirit of the Pilgrim and the Huguenot remains the living and controlling force, affirming that the Declaration of Independence, the farewell address of the Father of his Country and the Monroe Doctrine shall never pass into innocuous desuetude; devoting its energies to the development of the inexhaustible resources of its great continental territory; solving the problem of universal personal and political liberty, of a government by the consent of the governed, where no king, no class and no race rules, but each individual has equal voice and power in the control of all, where wealth comes only as the compensation for honest toil of hand or brain, where public service is private duty; a nation whose supreme value to the world lies not in its power, but in its unfailing loyalty to the high ideals of its youth, its forever lifting its strong hand, not to govern, but only to protect the weak; and thus the bright shining which brightens more and more into the fadeless eternal day.—Extract from an address by the Hon. David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, delivered at Buffalo, N. Y., February 16, 1899.

REPUBLICAN RESPECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is true that Mount's refusal to obey the United States Constitution is not without some precedent,

but this does not render the offense any the less outrageous, dangerous and intolerable. We can recognize no "custom" that is so evidently repugnant to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. What will become of the administration of justice in the country if the "liberty" which Mount and a few other executives have taken goes unrebuked and the practive of allowing Governors to override the mandatory provisions of the Federal Constitution is acquiesced in? One Governor is prompted by political reasons, another may be influenced by racial, religious, personal, economic or any other reasons.

We emphatically do take the ground that the Constitution should be observed and fugitives surrendered at the demands of the authorities entitled and bound to make requisition for their return to the jurisdiction from which they fled.

Is it proper for a Governor to stigmatize the people of another State by telling them that he has no faith in their juries, judges, appellate tribunals and executive officials?

The more the alleged "custom" is considered the more revolting and demoralizing it is seen to be.—Chicago Evening Post.

HEREDITARY SOVEREIGN OR BOSS-MADE PRESIDENTIAL SOVEREIGN.

In a pamphlet circulated by the Government of France in 1810 we read:

The emperor exercises alone the fullness of sovereignty as the hereditary representative of the nation, as it should be constituted, as it should be administered. He is the supreme legislator and executor of law; he is the soul of government. He sets into activity all the machinery of the Consti-

tution. All good citizens pay him respect and obedience. There is nothing over him but God and the law. All his rights, all his prerogatives are the signs of veritable sovereignty. He exercises in all plenitude and integrity, without partiality and without partisanship!

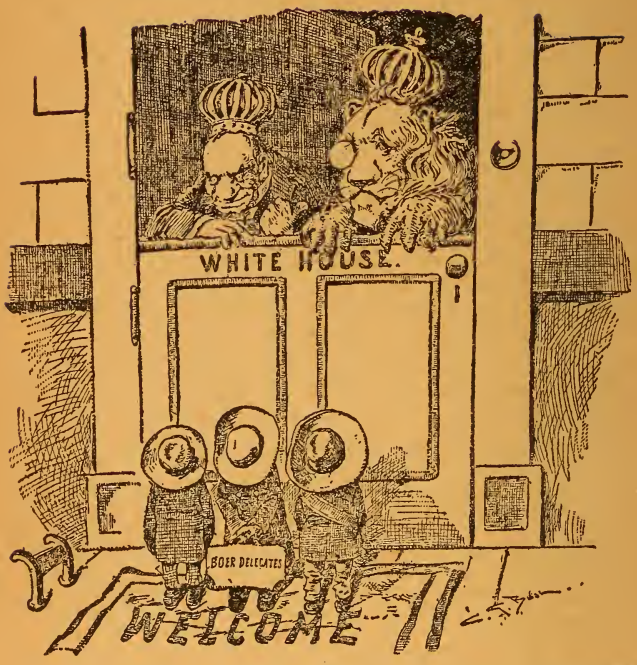
WHY THERE ARE KINGLY POLITICAL BOSSES.

The people are the depository of ignorance. They acknowledge it. The Executive-in-chief knows it. All his followers acknowledge it. Why do the people retain a sovereignty they are so unfitted to hold?—Edinburg Review, Vol. 17.

SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS.

Ex-Judge T. A. Moran said at Chicago mass-meeting to welcome Boer peace envoys: "The chief reason we should sympathize with the Boers is that we, as Americans, dare not do otherwise. But our sympathies should not alone be expressed in such popular demonstrations, but officially as well. Heretofore our Government never failed to recognize struggling people.

"A republican form of government is essential to the progress and prosperity of the human race. In a contest between monarchy and republicanism freedom hangs in the balance, as it does to-day in the Transvaal. England's Government is good for Englishmen, but not for Americans nor Boers. It grieved my heart many times to see the flag of Great Britain twined with our own starry banner. Much more appropriate would it have been had we twined the stars and stripes with the flag of a republic.



"Sorry for you, my little friends, but me and my partner here have an arrangement that won't permit me to help you"

CRUSHING THE REPUBLICS.

"It may be said that England promised a good government to the Boers. Be it so. I have heard something of the same sort before, and it is crushing out the republicanism of this country. The hearts of the people are with the South African republics, although the administration winks the other eye at England and says nothing."

Judge Dunne said:

"As citizens of a republic which owes its existence to the intervention of a friendly power, and which, within the last five years, has intervened between the great, grasping empire which is now attempting to annihilate the South African republics and Venezuela, and preserved the latter from ravishment and spoliation, we meet to inquire what has paralyzed the spirit of the American nation and what causes its executive to stand nerveless and dumb while two guiltless young republics are being done to death."

Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones said:

"Unfortunately your cause has fallen in a time when our traditions lie low, when we have yielded to those temptations which have brought such calamities to you in South Africa to-night."

AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY.

"With greater or less reason the business men insist that there is a connection between business prosperity and the policy of conquest. This draws them toward imperialism. And there is another thing. It is that those who already have money long for more than money—for glory, and glory is gained in war.

"It is easy to see, therefore, the points of sympathy between American imperialism and English imperialism. How could American millionaires help admiring such typical business men as Mr. Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes?

"Moreover, the imperialistic party is an aristocratic one. The twenty-five families who stand at its head form the 'monde chic,' the 'smart set.' They are drawn by their aristocratic sympathies toward the land of their ancestors. They have the habit of looking up to England. They profess a sort of loyalty to England which leads them to consider it a supreme honor, a crown and consecration of their prosperity to be presented at court to the queen.

"They share enthusiastically in the glory of England. That is the reason why, in this present crisis, they are for the English Government and soldiers and against the peasants of the South African republics. It is 'smart' to be English. It is therefore impossible for a member of the 'smart society' to defend the cause of the Boers.

"These, rapidly outlined, are some of the bonds which exist between American imperialism and English imperialism, which will form in the near future a formidable union that will be known as Anglo-Saxon imperialism."—Count de Castellane in the Paris Gaulois.

COUNTING THE COST.

The appropriation bills now pending in Congress for the coming fiscal year enable us to judge about where the Government stands in the matter of expense compared with the time prior to the Spanish war. We accordingly present side by side the appropriations made for the fiscal year 1897 and those called for in the pending bills:

	1901.	1897.
Legislative, executive and judicial	$23,874,821	$21,519,750
Sundry civil	55,000,000	29,812,113
Army	111,600,364	23,278,402
Navy	61,209,916	30,562,660
Fortifications	7,093,488	7,377,888
Indian service	7,328,203	7,390,496
Diplomatic and consular	1,743,408	1,643,559
Pensions	145,245,230	141,328,580
District of Columbia	6,742,519	5,900,319
Agriculture	3,500,000	3,255,532
Military academy	500,000	449,525
Deficiencies	19,965,089	13,900,106
Rivers and harbors	.....	15,944,147
Miscellaneous	.....	423,304
Total	$443,803,038	$302,786,381

This is all aside from the costs of the postal service above revenue and certain annual appropriations as for interest on the public debt. The 1897 appropriations include a river and harbor bill, which is to be passed over this year, and which, accordingly, for purposes of comparison, should be removed from the above table. The 1897 total would then be $286,842,234, compared with $443,803,038 for the coming fiscal year—an increase of $156,960,804, or more than 54 per cent.—Springfield Republican.

MILITARISM.

The keeping of the inhabitants of the Coeur d'Alene district in military subjection to United States troops for nearly a year forms a black chap-

ter in the history of the Republican administration. It furnishes a good object lesson for the people and shows the practical workings of militarism.

If, at the instigation of a trust, trial by jury, habeas corpus and other Constitutional guarantees can be withdrawn from the citizens of a sovereign State and a shoulder-strapped martinet is empowered to substitute in Idaho the rule of the bayonet for the law of the land, how soon may it not be before the tyrannous and imperial precedent is followed in Missouri or Kansas, Illinois or New York?

If the plain people of the United States will read the evidence which has been brought out by the Congressional committee that has been investigating the horrors of the "bull pen" and other incidents in the eleven months of martial law inflicted upon the citizens of Shoshone county, Idaho, they will not feel encouraged to endorse imperialism and militarism.—Kansas City Times.

One of the results of our new venture in colonial expansion is illustrated by the great commotion caused by the invitation to the Duc d'Arcos to attend the Dewey celebration.

Three or four years ago this gaucherie would have been passed off as, at worst, a broad Chicago joke. If some king of an effete monarchy of Europe didn't like it he could lump it. What did we care about international diplomacy? By Jingo, we were in a position to defy 'em. If they didn't like our style they could—and so forth.

Now observe the change. The President sent for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State called on the Spanish Minister. A note of apology was framed beginning "Honored Sir" and ending "with renewed assurances of my most distinguished

consideration." The cable vibrated with a most portentous message. The American Minister at Madrid—we forget his name—tore through the streets to the ministry of foreign affairs. It was a great mistake. It was a horrible crime. It was an outrage for which we can never atone sufficiently. Would his excellency convey to her majesty, the queen regent, the regret felt by the President for this unfortunate occurrence, with renewed assurances, etc.? Still is Spain unappeased. The Duke of Arcos rages. The courts of Europe are shocked.

Are we drifting into the condition of the European countries, where a citizen is afraid to step on a match lest he set a nervous court into hysterics? In London they stop plays in which his imperial majesty, the Sultan of Turkey, is mildly ridiculed. In Paris they confiscate newspapers that offend the amour propre of the Emperor William. Is the time coming when we must give up our innocent little Twelfth ward joke for fear we shall disturb "the nice balance of European power?"—Chicago Journal (Independent).

POLITICS IN THE REGULAR ARMY.

The meddling of the politicians did not cease with the war, but has been extended to the regular army. Among the least injurious instances of the contempt for propriety and justice has been the appointment of civilians 60 years old, at the request of politicians, as paymasters. After a brief service these favorites are placed on the retired list for life, on equal terms with men whose best years have been given to the army.

It is asserted that a large proportion of the chaplains now in the army were appointed through political influence, and that nearly all the chaplains as-

signed to the regiments in the Philippines have been able to remain in this country while drawing their pay and emoluments with unfailing regularity. It is positively affirmed that virtually all the regiments which are often under fire are without their regular chaplains, and that but for the generosity of Miss Helen Gould our army there would be without religious ministrations. Washington correspondents in commenting on the bill to restore the rank of Lieutenant General (for the benefit of General Miles) and to give to the Adjutant General the rank of Major General (for the benefit of Corbin), say that these two bitter enemies have suspended hostilities and pooled their issues; that as neither can achieve his promotion alone they have combined their political influence to "work" Congress.—Philadelphia Record.

Human nature in Rome was not so different from human nature in the United States that as an example to us it can safely be ignored. As long as the Roman Republic spread only over contiguous territory, it was "an indissoluble union of indestructible states," but when it entered upon its conquest of colonial empire, the republic was doomed and imperialism enthroned.

The foundations of a republic are the intelligence, independence and integrity of its citizens. Where the citizens are too ignorant to exercise an intelligent ballot, too dependent to exercise a free ballot, or too corrupt to exercise an honest ballot, republican government becomes impossible.

The Roman Republic was not overthrown by ambition, but fell through corruption, and to realize adequately what is threatening us we should remember what has happened before under somewhat similar conditions. American citizens may profit-

ably reread at this time the introductory chapters of Froude's Caesar, where the events and causes leading to the dissolution of the Roman Republic are clearly and forcibly set forth.—W. R. Hearst, in New York Journal.

FROUDE'S ROMAN LESSONS FOR AMERICA.

To the student of political history, and to the English student above all others, the conversion of the Roman Republic into a military empire commands a peculiar interest. Notwithstanding many differences, the English and the Romans essentially resemble one another. The early Romans possessed the faculty of self-government beyond any people of whom we have historical knowledge, with the one exception of ourselves. In virtue of their temporal freedom, they became the most powerful nation in the known world; and their liberties perished only when Rome became the mistress of conquered races, to whom she was unable or unwilling to extend her privileges.

If there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties.

THE PATHOLOGY OF NATIONS.

The life of a nation, like the life of a man, may be prolonged in honor into the fulness of its time, or it may perish prematurely, for want of guidance, by violence or internal disorders. And thus the history of national revolutions is to statesmanship what the pathology of disease is to the art of medicine.

The physician cannot arrest the coming on of age. Where disease has laid hold upon the constitution he cannot expel it. But he may check the progress of the evil if he can recognize the symptoms in time. He can save life at the cost of an unsound limb. He can tell us how to preserve our health when we have it; he can warn us of the conditions under which particular disorders will have us at disadvantage.

And so with nations; amidst the endless variety of circumstances there are constant phenomena which give notice of approaching danger; there are courses of action which have uniformly produced the same results; and the wise politicians are those who have learned from experience the real tendencies of things, unmisled by superficial differences, who can shun the rocks where others have been wrecked, or from foresight of what is coming can be cool when the peril is upon them.

For these reasons the fall of the Roman Republic is exceptionally instructive to us. A constitutional government the most enduring and the most powerful that ever existed was put on its trial and found wanting. We see it in its growth; we see the causes which undermined its strength. We see attempts to check the growing mischief fail, and we see why they failed.

OUR AGE FORESHADOWED.

With such vividness, with such transparent clearness, the age stands before us of Cato and Pompey, of Cicero and Julius Caesar; the more distinctly because it was an age in so many ways the counterpart of our own, the blossoming period of the old civilization, when the intellect was trained to the highest point which it could reach, and on the great subjects of human interest, on morals and politics, on

poetry and art, even on religion itself and the speculative problems of life, men thought as we think, doubted where we doubt, argued as we argue, aspired and struggled after the same objects.

It was an age of material progress and material civilization; an age of civil liberty and intellectual culture; an age of pamphlets and epigrams, of salons and of dinner parties, of senatorial majorities and electoral corruption.

The highest offices of state were open in theory to the meanest citizen; they were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purses, or the most ready use of the tongue on popular platforms. Distinctions of birth had been exchanged for distinctions of wealth.

The struggles between plebeians and patricians for equality of privilege were over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society. The free cultivators were disappearing from the soil.

Patriotism survived on the lips, but patriotism meant the ascendancy of the party which would maintain the existing order of things, or would overthrow it for a more equal distribution of the good things which alone were valued.

Religion, once the foundation of the laws and rule of personal conduct, had subsided into opinion. The educated in their hearts disbelieved it. Temples were still built with increasing splendor; the established forms were scrupulously observed. Public men spoke conventionally of Providence, that they might throw on their opponents the odium of impiety; but of genuine belief that life had any serious meaning, there was none remaining beyond the circle of the silent, patient, ignorant multitude.

The whole spiritual atmosphere was saturated with cant—cant moral, cant political, cant religious; an affectation of high principle which had ceased to touch the conduct, and flowed on in an increasing volume of insincere and unreal speech.

Tendencies now in operation may a few generations hence land modern society in similar conclusions, unless other convictions revive meanwhile and get the mastery of them; of which possibility no more need be said than this, that unless there be such a revival in some shape or other, the forces, whatever they be, which control the forms in which human things adjust themselves, will make an end again, as they made an end before, of what are called free institutions.

THE RACE FOR WEALTH.

To make money—money by any means, lawful or unlawful—became the universal passion. Money! The cry was still money!—money was the one thought from the highest Senator to the poorest wretch who sold his vote in the Comitia.

For money judges gave unjust decrees and juries gave corrupt verdicts. Governors held their provinces for one, two or three years; they went out bankrupt from extravagance, they returned with millions for fresh riot.

The opportunities opened for men to advance their fortunes in other parts of the world drained Italy of many of its most enterprising citizens. The grandsons of the yeomen who had held at bay Pyrrhus and Hannibal sold their farms and went away. The small holdings merged rapidly into large estates bought up by the Roman capitalists.

At the final settlement of Italy some millions of acres had been reserved to the State as public property. The "public land," as the reserved portion

was called, had been leased on easy terms to families with political influence, and by lapse of time, by connivance and right of occupation these families were beginning to regard their tenures as their private property and to treat them as lords of manors in England have treated the "commons." Thus everywhere the small farmers were disappearing and the soil of Italy was fast passing into the hands of a few territorial magnates.

PLUTOCRACY AND PROLETARIAT.

The multitude was kept quiet by the morsels of meat which were flung to it when it threatened to be troublesome. The seven thousand in Israel, the few who in all states and in all times remained pure in the midst of evil, looked on with disgust, fearing that any remedy which they might try might be worse than the disease.

All orders in a society may be wise and virtuous, but all cannot be rich. Wealth which is used only for idle luxury is always envied, and envy soon curdles into hate.

It is easy to persuade the masses that the good things of this world are unjustly divided, especially when it happens to be the exact truth. It is not easy to set limits to an agitation once set on foot, however justly it may have been provoked, when the cry for change is at once stimulated by interest and can disguise its real character under the passionate language of patriotism.

But it was not to be expected that men of noble natures, young men especially, whose enthusiasm had not been cooled by experience, would sit calmly by while their country was going thus headlong to perdition. Redemption, if redemption was to be hoped for, could come only from free citizens in the country districts, whose manners and whose

minds were still uncontaminated, in whom the ancient habits of life still survived, who still believed in the gods, who were contented to follow the wholesome round of honest labor. The numbers of such citizens were fast dwindling away before the omnivorous appetite of the rich for territorial aggrandizement.

GOVERNMENT AN INSTRUMENT OF LOOT.

Governors with their staffs, permanent officials, contractors for the revenue, negotiators, bill brokers, bankers, merchants, were scattered everywhere in thousands. Money poured in upon them in rolling streams of gold.

The largest share of the spoils fell to the Senate and the Senatorial families. The Senate was the permanent Council of State, and was the real administrator of the Empire. The Senate had the control of the treasury, conducted the public policy, appointed from its own ranks the governors of the provinces. It was patrician in sentiment, but not necessarily patrician in composition. The members of it had virtually been elected for life by the people, and were almost entirely those who had been quaestors, aediles, praetors or consuls; and these offices had been long open to the plebeians. It was an artistocracy, in theory a real one, but tending to become, as civilization went forward, an aristocracy of the rich.

How the Senatorial privileges affected the management of the provinces will be seen more particularly as we go on. It is enough at present to say that the nobles and great commoners of Rome rapidly found themselves in possession of revenues which their fathers could not have imagined in their

dreams, and money in the stage of progress at which Rome had arrived was convertible into power.

THE PLUNDER OF THE PROVINCES.

To obtain a province was the first ambition of a Roman noble. The road to it lay through the praetorship and the consulship; these offices, therefore, became the prizes of the State; and, being in the gift of the people, they were sought after by means which demoralized alike the givers and the receivers. The elections were managed by clubs and coteries; and, except on occasions of national danger or political excitement, those who spent most freely were most certain of success.

Under these conditions the chief powers in the Commonwealth necessarily centered in the rich. There was no longer an aristocracy of birth, still less of virtue.

The patrician families had the start in the race. Great names and great possessions came to them by inheritance. But the door of promotion was open to all who had the golden key.

The great commoners bought their way into the magistracies. From the magistracies they passed into the Senate; and the Roman Senator, though in Rome itself and in free debate among his colleagues he was handled as an ordinary man, when he travelled had the honors of a sovereign.

The proud privilege of Roman citizenship was still jealously reserved to Rome itself and to a few favored towns and colonies; and a mere subject could maintain no rights against a member of the haughty oligarchy which controlled the civilized world. Such, generally, the Roman Republic had become, or was tending to become, in the years which followed the fall of Carthage, B. C. 146.

Public spirit in the masses was dead or sleeping; the Commonwealth was a plutocracy. The free forms of the Constitution were themselves the instruments of corruption.

Senator Teller said in reference to trusts:

"If the Sherman law were enforced as it ought to be there would not be the cry there is now against trusts. If a law should be enacted providing that the officers of any trust or combination should be imprisoned for contributing to the fund of any political party a stop would soon be put to an alliance between trusts and politics.

THE ARMY.

Gen. Greely, chief of the signal service of the army, spoke of the United States army as a military organization at the annual banquet of the Worcester Board of Trade May 2, 1900. He declared that the army was a political organization, and that it had not advanced during a period of fifty years. If the system, which was now imperfect, was to be improved in future years, it would be at the cost of tens of thousands of lives and millions in treasure.

He declared that the same process of weeding out incompetents that obtained in commercial and industrial life should obtain in the army. Until this was done the United States army would be the weak and imperfect organization that it was today and had been for half a century.

The soldier, General Greely declared, represented the manhood and integrity of military organization, and the officers the political machine. If every incompetent officer in the army was discharged from the service it would have a tremendous effect, and make the army of the United

States approach the model of the German army of today, which, of all national military organizations, was the nearest perfect.

General Greely said that the Quartermaster's Department of the army contained many incompetent men, some of whom were a disgrace to the country. It was owing to the imperfect system obtaining at the outbreak of hostilities with Spain that the resources of the nation had been taxed to the utmost to move an army of 20,000 men to Cuba.

As showing that the whole system was yet imperfect, the speaker referred to the fact that at the close of the war with Spain, and in the present in the Philippines signal service, men have been obliged to go without rations for a period of ten days.

THE UNITED STATES MAIL.

On the contrary, the mail service of the United States is a typical, burdensome and irresponsible monopoly of the most offensive description. Beyond appointing a host of officials to collect, pouch, dispatch, receive and distribute the letters, papers and parcels, the Government has nothing whatever to do with their transmission. They are conveyed by railroads, steamboats, stage coaches and private contractors at extortionate rates, some trains getting the entire cost of maintenance and operation from their receipts from the Post Office. The Government pays an average of eight cents a pound for an average haul of four and one-half miles, while the express companies carry merchandise from New York to Chicago, a thousand miles, for $3 per hundred pounds, and some transcontinental lines will take goods from New Orleans to San Francisco for 8-10 of one cent the pound, while Government, by law, compels the citizens to pay for carrying their letters at the rate of $610 the ton. As a matter of

fact, it is much nearer $1,000 the ton, for very few letters weigh the ounce which may be taken for two cents postage.

And not only so, but the Government renounces all liability for the safe delivery of the property which it compels the citizen to intrust to its charge, except to the extent of $10, when it is registered.—John J. Ingalls.

AN ILLUSTRATION.

The Postmaster-General was called on May 26, 1900, to investigate the following specific charges:

The funds of the Washington City Post Office have been improperly disbursed for over two years, the irregularities for the quarter ending September 30, 1898, amounting to $20,000 to $30,000, according to an expert's report to Comptroller Tracewell.

Numerous favorites have been carried on two, and even three, payrolls at the same time at the Washington City Post Office and at other post offices in the country. Oliver H. Smith of Indiana, now superintendent in the local service, was for about a year simultaneously auditor of local postal stations, laborer, and painter of street letter-boxes. He drew three salaries. Nathan Baker of Indiana succeeded to Mr. Smith's emoluments.

MANY ON STUFFED PAYROLL.

Six women have long been carried on the rolls of the city post office as cleaners at $600 a year, performing no work whatever, and being paid on separate vouchers. Four men were for many months paid at the local post office apparently to investigate claims of letter carriers, all the positions being sinecures.

John E. Jones, a newspaper reporter, was carried

for many months as physician to the Washington City Post Office at $1,700 a year.

Traveling expenses of department officials who were not on public business, trips for private citizens only nominally connected with the government service, have been paid to the extent of tens of thousands of dollars out of funds strictly belonging to the Washington Post Office and out of the military postal fund.

Postmaster Merritt is exonerated from any responsibility, as it is said he had no control over matters. A long list of witnesses is recommended to the Postmaster-General to aid in his investigation. It includes Chief Inspector Cochran of the Post Office Department, Fourth Assistant Bristow, George W. Beavers, chief of the salary and allowance division, and the files of the Comptroller of the Treasury.

HOW MARK HANNA BECAME SENATOR AND WHY THE ADMINISTRATION IS SO EASY ON RATHBONE OF THE CUBA STEALS.

Senate report No. 1,859, third session, Fifty-fifth Congress, contains some official information that may show why Major E. G. Rathbone, Director-General of Posts in Cuba, is protected, if it shall prove that some hidden influence saves him from prosecution. Senate report No. 1,859 has to do with the investigation of the charge of bribery in connection with the election of Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio to the United States Senate. The report contains, among other things, the report of the select committee of the Ohio State Senate which investigated the charge. The findings of the committee are summarized in the report as follows:

"The evidence taken by your committee in its judgment proves four main facts:

"1. That on or about January 9, 1898, an attempt was made to bribe John C. Otis, a member of the house of representatives of the present General Assembly of the State of Ohio, to vote for Marcus A. Hanna for United States Senator.

"2. That Henry H. Boyce was the principal offender in the commission of that crime.

"3. That Major E. G. Rathbone and Major Charles F. Dick were agents of Marcus A. Hanna, and procured, aided, and abetted Henry H. Boyce to commit that crime.

"4. That H. H. Hollenbeck aided Henry H. Boyce in committing that crime."

COLONIAL PILLAGE UNDER WAY.

And now it appears that the looting of Cuba is not confined to a few officers of the army that have been ordered to special service there. It is now reported that the rascality pervades the post office business of the island, which has been under the control of the War Department. The director, Rathbone, who is at the head of the system, is said to be getting $16,000 a year from the Government in regular salary and allowances, besides what he picks up on the side. The deficit for the Cuban post office system for the first six months, ending June 30, 1899, was $114,183, and the deficit for the year ending June 30, 1900, is estimated to go over $200,000. This is not surprising when a special agent or inspector in Cuba looks after only an average of fifteen offices, while in the United States one looks after 300 offices. Other things are on a like scale of extravagance.

It is evident that the scheme of colonial pillage is already under way and that the policy of benevo-

lent assimilation assimilates money and portable valuables first. We are not only lifting the Cubans up, but also holding them up.—Indianapolis Sentinel.

ANOTHER CUBAN SCANDAL.

Another Cuban scandal is set forth in outline by the New York Herald. This relates to the building by the War Department of the six-mile railroad known as the Trisconia, which connects the town of that name with the roads leading into Havana from the east. It was built as a military necessity, according to War Department explanations, in order that the troops could be transported to the interior of Cuba without having to pass through Havana. But a curious fact about this explanation is that the war was over and the troops were being moved out of Cuba before it was hardly begun, and that the parading of troops through Havana has been the practice of commanding officers, notwithstanding the existence of the road. It cost $342,611, and engineers say that it ought not to have cost more than $10,000 a mile, or between $60,000 and $70,000.—Springfield Republican.

THE COST OF CUBAN GOVERNMENT.

Senator Bacon's remarks just published in the Record on the cost of carrying on the government of Cuba are very interesting and suggestive.

In round numbers, he says, the Cuban receipts for 1899 amounted to $16,000,000 and the expenditures to $14,000,000. Deducting the cost of the municipalities, $1,239,000, and treating the items of expenditures for justice and public instruction, which are lumped, $790,000, as for education alone, and deducting this also and the postal expenses,

Mr. Bacon makes the expenditure for the current cost of governing the island about $11,000,000.

He compares this with the expenditures of several of the States. These States are all but one or two much larger in population than Cuba, and all have much more highly organized governments. The result of the comparison is shown in the following table of the current annual expenditures for Cuba and the States named:

Cuba	$11,000,000
STATES.	
Georgia	$ 872,000
Missouri	1,707,137
Massachusetts	3,500,000
Indiana	2,980,000
Arkansas	550,000
Minnesota	4,650,000
Mississippi	749,000
Kentucky	2,738,000
Tennessee	2,580,000
Michigan	3,584,000

The government of each one of these States ought seemingly to cost more than our temporary and incomplete government of Cuba. And yet Cuba costs from four times to twenty times as much as States having larger populations and more complete governments. Deducting also $1,270,000 expended in Cuba for barracks and quarters which Mr. Bacon should have done, and $3,810,000 for sanitation and customs service, the annual current expenses of Cuba amount to about $6,000,000. If we add to the table the cost of education, the expenditures of Cuba exceed by from $1,000,000 to about $4,000,000 those of any of the State govern-

ments mentioned except that of Massachusetts, which expends $5,500,000 a year for education.—New York World.

MORE THAN $24,000,000 A YEAR HANDLED BY TRUST CO. IN CUBA ALONE.

Estimated amount of funds handled annually by the North American Trust Company as the fiscal agent of the United States in Cuba:

RECEIPTS OF THE ISLAND.

From customs	$15,012,100.10
From postal	250,025.85
From internal revenue	760,880.33
From miscellaneous	293,584.51
Total island receipts	$16,316,590.79

MAINTENANCE OF THE ARMY.

Estimated from official reports:

Pay of United States troops	$ 2,500,000.00
Subsistence of army	800,000.00
Medical departments	100,000.00
Barracks and quarters	1,000,000.00
Quartermasters' supplies	800,000.00
Clothing, etc	800,000.00
Contingent and other expenses	2,000,000.00
Total U. S. Government money	8,000,000.00
Total receipts	16,316,590.79
Grand total	$24,316,590.79

Estimated profits of North American Trust Company on Cuban business alone, $1,320,000.

Total capitalization, $2,000,000.

A SHORT STORY IN FIGURES.

The ordinary annual expenditures of the Government averaged in President Harrison's term $361,291,323.

They averaged in President Cleveland's second term $360,418,546.

They have averaged in President McKinley's term $514,480,254.

The cost of running the Government is thus seen to have been increased by nearly $154,000,000 a year ever since Mr. McKinley was inaugurated. And this is not accounted for by the extraordinary disbursements of the war, which are not included in these "ordinary expenditures."

The outlay for war is a separate matter, and it accounts for the increase of the public debt by $200,000,000 since Mr. McKinley's inauguration.

The financial record of the Administration may therefore be summed up in a sentence. It has added nearly $13,000,000 a month to the regular running expenses of the Government and added $1.79 per capita to the national burden of debt.—New York World.

THE PORTO RICANS MUST PAY.

The new governor of Porto Rico is to receive $8,000 a year, which is as much as a justice of the United States Supreme Court receives, as much as the Vice-President of the United States receives, $5,500 a year more than Nebraska's Governor receives. Porto Rico has about as many inhabitants as Nebraska. They must support a clique of officeholders who cost more than the administration of any State in the Union. The Porto Ricans have to pay dearly for the privilege of being 15 per cent

American and 85 per cent foreigners.—Omaha World-Herald.

A NEW BRAND OF FREEDOM FOR PUERTO RICO.

One of the incidents that will last in American history was the treatment of Puerto Rico by the present Congress. Spain allowed the 800,000 people of this island free trade, manhood suffrage, sixteen full deputies and four senators to the Cortez at Madrid, and twelve representatives in the local municipal assemblies. President McKinley in his message to the Fifty-sixth Congress said: "Our plain duty is to abolish all custom tariffs between the United States and Puerto Rico and give her products free access to our markets." On January 8 last General Davis, the Governor-General of Puerto Rico, appeared before a committee of the House of Representatives.

"With free trade with the United States will the people of Puerto Rico be able to work out their salvation?" asked Mr. Cannon, of Illinois.

"Quite able to support themselves," he replied, "and besides, to contribute much to the wealth of the United States whenever the island is put upon a sound basis."

Three weeks after this there was an unexpected change. A tariff was proposed, and then followed those well-remembered developments which ended in the driving through both houses of Congress of a new measure. Some of the more independent members, both of the House and the Senate, rebelled, but the party organization was too strong for the majority. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 40 to 31. This measure puts over Puerto Rico a governor, gives the Puerto Ricans the smaller part of a legislative assembly and keeps in

American hands the real authority. Even if this legislative assembly passes laws they must be subject to the revision of the Congress of the United States. Its judges are appointed by the President of the United States. It does not even allow Puerto Ricans to send a non-voting delegate to Congress, but creates a resident commissioner of Puerto Rico to represent the colony in Washington.

And in addition to all that it imposes a 15 per cent tariff on Puerto Rican trade.

The nation was humiliated and aroused to protest by this Puerto Rican incident. Almost the entire press of the country declared its opposition, and one of the extraordinary facts was that some of the staid scientific journals which never touched politics before in all their careers could not resist the temptation to express themselves. Almost every word that came from the pulpit or the rostrum outside of Congress was a protest against the violation of the given promise of the nation.

The argument for the bill was one of expediency —that it was better to raise the necessary revenues in this indirect way, and that in any event every penny would be devoted to Puerto Rico. Beyond all this was the broader fact that if the United States Government should give free trade to Puerto Rico it would have to do the same to the Philippines, and thus open the gates for the Eastern invasion of cheap products and cheap labor. But at the same time the fact remains to-day that the 800,000 Puerto Ricans, like the two million Americans one hundred and twenty-five years ago, are enjoying the privileges and pleasures of taxation without representation.—Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post.

Republican Senator Wellington of Maryland said:

"This country, so far as its government is concerned, has yielded to British blandishments and is under the sway of British influence. England dares not attack us by force, and realizing this, is gaining points against us by diplomacy. So it was during the American-Spanish war that England professed herself our friend after we had broken the power of Spain.

"That was the beginning of an alliance conceived in darkness and carried out in iniquity. There has been between the two governments a secret understanding—although as yet no open alliance—and a surrender of American interests to Great Britain.

"Despite the desire of a vast majority of our people that we should extend our sympathy and good offices to the Boers, the diplomacy of Great Britain now binds the hands of our country."

WHAT IMPERIALISM WOULD DO FOR FREE SPEECH.

Henry Wade Rogers has been forced to leave the presidency of Northwestern University because the American people, as a whole, refuse to tolerate men who tamper with treason.

When Henry Wade Rogers, on April 30, 1899, presided over and addressed the copperheads assembled in Central Music Hall, his own words and acts exposed a radical defect in his character. When he denied the United States possessed the Philippines, declared our rule unrightful, and proclaimed Aguinaldo not a rebel, his words were false in fact and treasonable in suggestion.

Yet, wrong as were his words, Dr. Rogers' acts were much worse. When his audience received his perfunctory expression of confidence in the President with hisses and jeers, a self-respecting speaker would have left the hall, but Dr. Rogers remained.

Northwestern University is to be congratulated upon its course. Upon great national questions of citizenship Dr. Rogers has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. His glaring unfitness for his place was made manifest. His continuance in it would have been an insult to the loyal people whose money and zeal have made Northwestern what it is. He is now relegated to the obscurity which he has earned.—Chicago Inter-Ocean.

NOT THE PARTY OF LINCOLN.

The platform claims that the Republican party under McKinley's guidance is actuated by the same inspiration and motives that it drew from the statesmanship and example of Lincoln.

Lincoln waged war to free the slaves; McKinley to rivet the shackles upon human beings. Lincoln insisted on equality before the law of every man under the flag. McKinley authorizes slavery and polygamy in the Sulus, imposes a discriminating and onerous tax upon Porto Ricans without their consent and carries on a war of criminal aggression against the inhabitants of Asiatic islands to force upon them a government they do not want and to deprive them of the right of governing themselves.

All parallels between Lincoln and McKinley in which the latter is likened to the former, as far as his administration acts go, is a profanation, which nearly approaches sacrilege. The Republican party of today has in it nothing left of the party that triumphed under Lincoln except the name.—Kansas City Times.

DARE NOT SHOW SYMPATHY.

Time was when a resolution expressing sympathy for a struggling people would be received with

cheers in a Republican convention and passed without a dissenting vote. Four years ago a resolution of sympathy with the Cubans was cheered to the echo by Republican conventions, and time and again Republican conventions, state and national, have declared sympathy with "all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights." But the Republican party has changed mightily during recent years. Today a resolution of sympathy with a people struggling for their rights is greeted with hisses instead of applause in a Republican convention.

In the Illinois Republican convention Delegate Miles Kehoe introduced a resolution of sympathy with the brave Boers who are fighting to maintain their little republic, and the resolution was greeted with a storm of hisses.

How do old-time Republicans who learned at the feet of Lincoln, Grant, Seward and Blaine like it?—Omaha World-Herald.

WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS.

What can Secretary Root mean in saying that "no intelligent man can read the signs of the times to-day and not realize that before many years the American people will be forced either to abandon the Monroe doctrine or else fight for it?"

The Monroe doctrine, as first declared, had two postulates, each logically complementary of the other:

(1) The exclusion of European intervention in American affairs.

(2) The abstention of America from intervention in European affairs.

That was Monroe's Monroe doctrine. No war threatens us if we closely adhere to it. But McKinley's Monroe doctrine is another matter. That plainly contemplates American armed intervention

in the affairs of the other hemisphere, coupled with a continued refusal to allow European armed intervention in this hemisphere.

And that way lies trouble. We cannot expect to use the Monroe doctrine as a bludgeon for "criminal aggression" on the European side of the world, and at the same time as a barrier against European aggression on the American side of the world.

Secretary Root's apprehension of a rapidly approaching war must be founded on a belief that Monroe's Monroe doctrine is dead, and that McKinley's Monroe doctrine has taken its place.—New York World.

THE DOLLAR SIDE.

The great "commercial value" of the Philippines is illustrated by the official figures of the exports to those islands for the ten months ending with April. The total value was $2,132,944. This is about what one big ship takes from New York to Europe every week. Of this little total $441,550 was in horses and mules for our own army, $230,000 in fodder for them, $370,000 in beer and $97,000 in whiskey—all for our soldiers. Is not this a wonderful trade, when the cost of maintaining the army there alone is $50,000,000 a year?

DRINK.

An analysis of our annual drink bill gives the following items:

Alcoholic beverages	$ 973,580,080
Coffee	134,695,154
Tea	33,613,588
Cocoa	5,000,000
Total	$1,146,897,822
Total for 1898	1,177,661,366

COUNTY CORRUPTION.

Over in the county board one man is drawing $6,000 a year and fourteen others are drawing $4,000 each for filling a lot of useless offices in a wholly discreditable manner.—Chicago Times-Herald.

Washington, May 13.—Senator Chandler was asked by The World correspondent to-day for further explanation of his charges in the Senate yesterday that the Harvey armor patent is a fraud and that Krupp armor is without superior merit. He gave the story of the Harvey patent as follows:

"Mr. Harvey nine years ago offered some especially hardened tool steel to Captain Folger, then an ordnance officer of the navy, who suggested that he experiment in applying the hardening process to armor.

"All that Mr. Harvey did at his own expense was to get a little plate three feet square and four inches thick, and he brought it in contact with charcoal fire at Newark, N. J. He submitted the result to Commander Folger, who thereupon, at the expense of the Navy Department, went on with the experiment.

"He ordered from the Creusot works a plate 6 feet by 8 feet by 10 1-2 inches and down here at the Navy Yard he went on and supercarburized the plate, Mr. Harvey being present and giving directions.

"Then Mr. Harvey applied for a patent. This was in April, 1891. The claim was disallowed. It was after that repeatedly disallowed. Mr. Eugene A. Byrnes, the examiner, rejected it. A second rejection was made on June 11, 1891, and on June 20,

1892, Secretary Tracy wrote a letter to the Patent Office, asking to have the Harvey patent expedited. That expedition took place, and at last the two examiners-in-chief, R. L. B. Clarke and S. W. Stocking, on appeal from the primary examiner, allowed the patent, which was issued September 29, 1891.

"So the monopoly had been created. Any one can judge whether it was created by Mr. Harvey or by Commander Folger. Among the reasons given by the Patent Office for rejecting the patent was the assertion that there is no invention adding to the carburizing process disclosed by Harvey and McDonald, the well-known step of hardening by chilling employed by Sperry & Howell."

Taking up the subject of Krupp armor, Mr. Chandler said that when Congress fixed the maximum price for armor at $300 the combined companies of the world found it necessary to resort to some new method of making the plate in order to avoid coming down in price of their product.

"The companies then invented this new Krupp armor," added the Senator, "which is nothing in the world but an armor into the face of which carbon is driven two or three times as far as it is into the face of Harvey armor. The patents, if there are any, we know nothing about. The so-called secret is no secret at all."

SAVINGS FROM PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE NATION'S RAILROADS.

Savings.	In Millions.
1. By abolishing 599 presidents, with their staffs (one would do)	25
2. By abolishing the high-priced managers and their staffs	4
3. By abolishing attorneys and legal expenses.	12

Savings.	In Millions.
4. By abolishing merely competitive offices, solicitors, etc.	12
5. By abolishing 5-7 of the advertising account, which is incurred for competitive purposes	5
6. By abolishing the traffic associations which are employed to adjust matters between competing roads	4
7. By exclusive use of the shortest routes	25
8. By consolidation of working depots, offices, and staffs	20
9. By uniformity of rail, cars, machinery, etc., cheapening their manufacture; by avoiding freight blockades, return of "empties" belonging to other roads, clerkage to keep account of foreign cars and adjust division of earnings among the roads; by making simple, easily understood tariffs, saving the time and labor of clerks and the public; by all the numberless little economies of a vast corporation under a single management, and no competitive warfare to waste its energies	15
10. By avoiding strikes and developing a better spirit among the employes	10
11. By abolishing the corruption fund for influencing legislation, etc	30
12. By abolishing the pass evil	30
13. By abolishing unjust rebates and commissions	50
14. By having no rent or interest to pay	286
15. By having no dividends to pay	82
16. By putting surplus in the people's treasury.	52
Total savings by public ownership of railways in a year	662

CIVIL SERVICE.

The civil-service plank in the Republican platform takes first prize for case-hardened cheek. It commends the party for "maintaining the efficiency of the civil service," in face of the fact that President McKinley has thrown 10,000 classified places to the spoilsmen, and says: "The Administration has acted wisely in its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience." And this within a month of the Neely embezzlement and the Rathbone crookedness! The author of that plank should confine his talents to poker. His bluffs are too magnificent for politics.

WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING.

The general price level rose 36 per cent between June 30, 1897, and January 1, 1900. Wages did not rise by more than from 10 to 20 per cent, where they rose at all. Therefore real wages have everywhere declined.

Formerly there was a chance of preserving some sort of proportion between prices and wages, but the development of monopolies during the McKinley administration has prevented the diffusion of the benefits of rising prices, and concentrated them almost entirely in the hands of the trusts. Before free competition was extinguished a wave of increasing prices used to touch its highest point in agricultural products. Now it is the things controlled by trusts that go to the top, while agricultural products lag near the bottom of the ascending movement.

MR. HANNA'S CONVENTION.

The Republican National Convention that began its sessions at Philadelphia June 19 was as remarkable in its way as the one that met at the same place forty-four years before. This was the first National Convention in American history that had had no mind of its own. It marked the culmination of the boss system.

In 1896 bosses were familiar figures in State and municipal politics, but none of them had ever controlled a National Convention of either party. Such a body was still the highest authority known in our politics. The Republican Convention met at St. Louis, supposing itself still to be an independent deliberative assembly like its predecessors. It found itself in the presence of that new and portentous figure, the National Boss. After a brief and one-sided contest Mr. Reed and the other adherents of the old methods succumbed. From that time the Republican party ceased to be a self-governing organization.

DANGERS WHICH CONFRONT THE UNITED STATES.

(By David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford Jr. University.)

There are four enemies to the growth and development of a democracy—four enemies that have ever stood in the path of man. These are aristocracy, militarism, slavery, and imperialism. There are various other enemies, but those are the four arch enemies in a political sense. They all spring out of the idea that man belongs not to himself, but that he belongs, body and soul, to the country which owns him, and that the country itself is the

administration of that country's affairs. These four enemies, in a dangerous garb, confront the United States today.

These four stand together, will stand together. Wherever there is one the other is Aristocracy, slavery, militarism and imperialism. They reach each other's hand. They all have their fair side. They are defended sometimes at the fireside. Slavery was discussed and defended from many a pulpit in New England. Aristocracy has its fair side. You can find it pictured and what it is in many British novels.

The foundation of quality is aristocracy; the foundation of our liberty is rebellion against it—the thing that we came here for.

There is a fair side of slavery and a fair side of militarism. How clean the streets can be kept under military discipline and how free from noise. How easily people can be sent to bed at dark if it be desired; how easily cock-fighting can be suppressed.

There is a fair side of imperialism. You will find that in many places nine-tenths of the people believe it is a good thing for the world. Maybe it is, but when we come to read history from the one side to the other we will find that the British people have been debauched by their course in India, and that the Hindoos have been cursed; you will find that the English people have been turned from being a strong, freedom-loving people. You will find, also, that the heart's blood has gone out of Great Britain, as it has gone out of all countries where they have indulged in these constant wars.

We know how Napoleon depopulated France by his wars. We know of the murders of the nobility, the murders of the peasantry, and the result in the France of today. In 1630, when the Philippine

question was a burning one in Spain, La Puente, an Augustine friar, expressed his opinion of the whole thing when he said: "Against the gain of redeemed souls I place the cost in the loss of armadas and of soldiers and of friars sent to the Philippines, and these I count the chief loss, that, while mines give silver and forests give lumber, only Spain gives Spaniards, and she shall give so many of them that some day she shall be left childless and forced to bring up strangers' children instead of her own."

Do we think that we fought against Spain? Spain died long ago. Spain is only a shell.

Another Spanish writer followed in these sublime and terrible words: "This is Castile. She makes men and wastes them."

This heresy of imperialism is the most dangerous that has arisen since the heresy of secession, and it must be fought as vigorously as the heresy of secession. If we admit as citizens any number of millions of people that are not ready for liberty, if we admit them with all the degradation which they must bring into our politics, we must take the consequences.

It is better that we should be just and faithful to our own principle and to the principles of God, and that we should in our laws be no respecters of persons, because if, in our laws, we are respecters of persons, we must go the way of empire, as all empire has gone.

Our danger is illustrated already in Porto Rico. The tariff discussion in Porto Rico violently agitated the American people, because they instinctively felt it was simply the introduction of the thin edge of the wedge of imperialism, the beginning of the contest between the American government and the American people. It is the introduction of the

principle that Congress, which is a creature of the constitution, and the President, who is a creature of the constitution, have certain powers that have been delegated by the people that are not given by the constitution, powers claimed to come just as the powers of all despots come, from the hands of Providence.

The best way in which the growth of any man or nation has ever been promoted has been through self-government, democratically looking after its own affairs. We do not expect that self-government will always be good government. It would be unfortunate if it were, because men learn not by their success but by mistakes. Self-government will be good government after a long time. But it is not always as good a government on the surface as it might be in a despotism.

It has been said our treatment of Porto Rico was odious. Our treatment is but the treatment of any colony, and what the treatment of any colony must be that is dependent upon other men for its government. Our treatment of Alaska has been a shame from beginning to end. It must be, and always will be to the end. Our treatment of Cuba, good as it seems in some respects, has been a shame, and before we get through with it we shall see. Remember, it is not ended yet.

Our treatment of the Philippines is unspeakable. Our treatment of the Indians has not been a century of honor. As soon as the voice of the Indian is heard, as soon as he has a vote, then we have an entirely different attitude.—New York Journal.

PLATFORM ADOPTED AT KANSAS CITY.

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in national convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man, and our allegiance to the constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our government, of which the constitution is the form and letter.

We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny; and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic.

We hold that the constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their powers from the constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it or in violation of it.

We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon

the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation.

It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding General of our army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity.

In this, the first act of its imperialistic program, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy inconsistent with Republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the Island of Cuba, except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people while Republican carpet bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has involved the republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government.

The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as

we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence, and, third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come.

Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended, not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning

issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia convention held in June, 1900, that the Republican party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine" is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe doctrine to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the eastern hemisphere.

We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent, and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace.

This republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender.

The National Guard of the United States should

ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and coevil with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic, and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor, and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment.

They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed.

The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in State and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies; that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced, and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate com-

merce, and requiring all corporations to show before doing business outside of the State of their origin that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts.

Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

The failure of the present Republican administration, with an absolute control over all branches of the national government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books prove the insincerity of the high-sounding phases of the Republican platform.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities

from discriminations, and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the national government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is therefore a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

We favor an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as

a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employes.

In the interest of American labor and the uplifting of the workingmen, as the corner-stone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896 that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

We favor the immediate construction, ownership and operation of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the National Republican platform for an isthmian canal in face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress. We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests not to be tolerated by the American people.

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges, to grant Statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those Territories immediate Statehood and home rule during their condition as Territories, and we favor home rule and a Territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for pur-

poses of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

Believing in the principles of self-government, and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the aim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics. Speaking, as we do, for the entire American nation, except its Republican office-holders, and for all free men everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies.

We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of prospering American shipbuilding, would put unearned millions into the

pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund.

We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes, and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, the very existence of our constitutional republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous, and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

ARE NATIONAL TENDENCIES INEVITABLE?

Trees grow, rocks lessen, nature is in a constant process of change and evolution. So it is in the political world. There is no rest. Liberty grows or lessens. That the political mind of nations moves on toward concentration of power and the lessening of liberty, is the history of every nation since Adam. The United States is on that road and at a more rapid pace during the McKinley administration than has ever been seen in any modern nation.

Even yet a multitude of our protected trust "infants" are drawing their nutriment from the tariff bottle at the rate of anywhere from 30 to 150 per cent profit on their watered stocks. This, while labor has hard scratching to pay for its victuals and clothes.

Prosperity at its best never means more to the laboring man than an extra steak each week, an extra dress for the mother, and possibly a day's outing for the children. Prosperity to the nation otherwise means only added millions to the millionaire.

The prosperity of the rich sometimes puts destitution as much as twenty-four hours farther from the poor man's door.

Let commerce spread. It is the millionaire's work. He must be protected wherever he goes by our armies. Let him be helped by tariffs; the poor man will carry the burden till he concludes to throw it off.

Meanwhile, it is known as treason if men do not uphold the motto of the Commercial King: "God's in it! We're in it! There's money in it!"

BENEVOLENT DISTILLATION AS BENEVOLENT ASSIMILATION.

The story related by Harold Martin, a representative at Manila of the Associated Press, is a story of shame.

Briefly, the facts are that before the American army occupied Manila there were in the city three saloons licensed to sell strong drink. Now there are one hundred and seventy, besides fifty-three places licensed to distribute liquor in wholesale quantities. Ninety per cent of the patrons of these saloons are Americans. The Escolta, the main business street of the city, was formerly a respectable thoroughfare; now it resembles the least savory sections of Clark street, Chicago, and is the focus point of drunken soldiery.

One of the conspicuous virtues of the Filipino people is their temperance. The Spaniard, too, is a temperate man. Even the fierce "bino" manufactured by the Filipinos is used by them in moderation. But as soon as the American began to make the acquaintance of "bino" he poured it into him in unlimited quantities.

There is, unhappily, no good reason to suppose that the natural temperance of the Filipino will endure against the avalanche of whisky barrels that roll upon Luzon from arrived vessels. The miserable condition of the American Indian is evidence to the contrary. And who cares to say that "enlightenment" is a fair exchange for temperance? The United States is drowning the Philippines in blood—which may be necessary—and in whisky, which certainly is not. The cannon works swiftly, but not more surely than the distillery.

Carl Schurz says:

"While the evil of slavery has been disposed of, the no less if not more serious evils of imperialism are impending. Not a mere commerical but a great moral issue is to be decided. The American people are to determine whether they will stand by the declaration of independence and the teachings of Washington and Lincoln, or abandon these to support McKinley in his imperial policy of criminal aggression, conquest by force, perfidy to allies and arbitrary rule over distant populations.

"I am confident that the people, if the issue is put clearly before them on its own merits, will let all the world know that the United States is still a republic and not an empire governing subject races."

LINCOLN ON McKINLEY'S POLICY.

The Republican national platform promises to the people of the Philippines "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties."

Abraham Lincoln disposed of this specious plea, used in his time, as it has been in every time, by the apologists of government without the consent of the governed. In the course of one of his famous series of speeches replying to Douglas the first Republican president said:

"These arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; that they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that

they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. Turn it whatever way you will, whether it come from the mouth of a king, an excuse for enslaving the people of the country, or from the mouth of men of one race for enslaving the men of another, it is all the same old serpent."

Thus clearly and emphatically has Abraham Lincoln bequeathed to us his judgment on the Philippine policy of William McKinley.

Dr. William Everett declares that the most unfair peace is preferable to the justest war. He says:

"But there is a theory, lately started, or rather an old one revived, that war is a good thing in itself, that it does a nation good to be fighting and killing the patriotic sons of another nation who love their country as we do ourselves. But there is a still newer theory come up about war as applied to ourselves. It seems that we share with a very few other peoples in the world a civilization so high and institutions so divine that it is our duty and our destiny to go about the globe swallowing up inferior peoples and bestowing on them, whether they will or not, the blessings of the American Constitution and of American domination, and that when we are once started on this work of absorption they are rebels who don't accept the blessing. Now, if this precious doctrine were true, it utterly annihilates the old notion of patriotism and love of country. But I will not enlarge upon this delicate subject of modern Americanism. It is bad enough for the nations we threaten to absorb. It is worse for us, the absorbers."

The words of Jackson, in his message vetoing the national bank act, may well be considered the creed of Democratic faith upon the subject. He says in this message:

"It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their own selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talent, or of education, or of wealth, cannot be produced by human institutions, but when the law undertakes to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humbler members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors for themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government."

In one of the speeches during the famous Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1858 Lincoln discussed the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence and spoke of its framers. He said:

"Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man should hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built."

Here was prophetic statesmanship. Lincoln spoke of the distant future. That was fifty-two

years ago. The year 1900 is not a very distant future, counting from that point of time.

But the present period may have been included in his sublime forecast. Events have moved with electric rapidity which he did not contemplate.

If now there are men, factions or interests setting up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, none but Anglo-Saxon white men within our national jurisdiction are entitled to the rights named in the declaration of independence and guaranteed by the constitution, they fall within Lincoln's denunciation.

Orlando J. Smith, in his "Coming Democracy," opens his discussion with this incontrovertible assertion:

"The history of the national government for more than thirty years has been in the main a record of the granting of special privileges, immunities, and subsidies to the strong, and against the interests of the mass of the people—of land grants and money grants to great corporations; of special taxes for the benefit of favored interests; of special deposits of the public funds in privileged bank, and of secret arrangements by which financial syndicates have made unfair profits in placing the issues of government bonds.

"It is a record of favoritism, profligacy, and corruption, which has been unequaled in any other land or time."

The great French historian Guizot asked James Russell Lowell how long the American republic could be expected to endure.

"So long," replied Lowell, "as the ideas of its founders continue dominant."

This quotation from the Neue Freie Presse of

Vienna ought to help some to decide who think we can expand beyond the seas without adopting European methods:

"Imperialism without militarism cannot exist for any length of time, and who wishes one cannot do without the other."

Imperial rule by tribunals is not what Lincoln believed to be liberty, when he said: "No people deserve to be free or can long remain free who do not recognize the equal right of others to be free."

Dr. David Starr Jordan of the Leland Stanford University says: "The only race degeneration ever known is that which is produced by one or all of democracy's arch enemies,—slavery, aristocracy, militarism, and imperialism,—the four tyrants of human politics, not one of which appears without the others."

On the night after Congress decided to leave the buying of armor plate to the Secretary of the Navy, the shipbuilding trust held a wine-supper celebration at Chambers' in honor of their victory, which cost several thousands of dollars.

The New York Tribune, a Republican newspaper, said as far back as 1878: "The machinery is now furnished by which, in any emergency, the financial corporations of the East can act together at a single day's notice with such power that no act of Congress can overcome or resist its power."

WILL AMUSE THE POLITICAL BOSS.

Mark Hanna will probably be inclined to agree heartily with Mr. Bryan's epigrammatic assertion

that "whenever man and the dollar come in conflict the Republican party stands for the dollar first; the Democratic party stands for the man." In all likelihood it will strike Mr. Hanna as somewhat amusing that Mr. Bryan should place any special emphasis upon such a fact. To the mind of the great trust politician there could be no better illustration of the soundness of Republican reasoning and the absurdity of Democratic sentimentality.—St. Louis Republic.

Judge De Armond, in a noteworthy address: "The trend of political thought in the Republican party is from a republic to an empire, from simplicity to display, from economy to extravagance, from a sense of justice to a lust for power, from the delights of liberty to the glory of despotism. These tendencies are discordant with, and antagonistic to, the ideals of the American people, a people jealous of their own rights and careful to respect the rights of others. I believe that we should return at once to the simple ways of the republic, and walk in the paths our fathers trod.

"This nation cannot remain one-half republic and one-half empire any more than it could remain one-half free and one-half slave. Either it will continue in essence, as well as in name, what our forefathers made it,—a republic,—or it will incarnate in essence, if not in name, the spirit of the empire our fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to overthrow in America. The fundamental question is this: Shall the United States renounce those principles of free government, which have made and kept this nation the best and greatest on earth? The McKinley administration has committed the Republican party to the affirmative side of the question."

Our authorities in the Philippines have been sending to school superintendents in this country circulars beginning thus:

United States Military Government
in the Philippines,
Department Public Instruction.

A Department of Public Instruction for the Philippines has just been established, and I write to ask if you can aid us in the civilization of this new part of our EMPIRE by sending such reports, bulletins, school laws, etc., now or to be issued as you may have for distribution.

So it seems we already have an empire. It is not a possible danger of the future—it is a thing already established by His Majesty, William I. of Canton. Where there is an empire there can be no great incongruity in speaking of an emperor. Nor can citizens who wish to restore republican government afford to lose any time in setting about the work.

The empire of wealth represented by the trusts is advancing along with the empire of military force. The two are one. Each is the negation of the American idea, which is that every man should be able to look any other man squarely in the eye and express his opinions as an equal. In ten years, at his present rate of enrichment, John D. Rockefeller will be the owner of a billion dollars. He will be able to break any bank or business house in the United States. Where will be the independence of American manhood then? How much of it is left now?

Rabbi Samuel Sale, of St. Louis, in a sermon said:

"Men have become so infatuated, so drunk with

the transcendant importance of state and nationality as to sacrifice the ideal interests of the human family. This fatal misconception is the fruitful source of all the evils which infest Continental Europe, and it is even now knocking for admission at the doors of our own country."

Governor Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, said: "It was predicted that the defeat of bimetallism would be followed by the retirement of all forms of government currency, by the dedication of the power of note issue to the holders of the national obligation, the practical consolidation of all lines of transportation, and the consequent domination of every commercial pursuit by a score of colossal monopolies. These predictions have in general been verified.

MONOPOLY DECLARED SUPREME.

"Democratic defeat had scarcely been recorded when the march of consolidation was resumed. Every pursuit that engages the attention of man has been exploited, capitalized, and appropriated. The earth and the waters around about it have been explored for subjects of monopoly, and those who have thundered against unsound money have used the printing press and the engraver's art to turn out thousands of millions of fictitious values, to which profit the toilers and consumers pay constant tribute.

"Every avenue is closed to the competitive energies of the citizen; has been listed on the stock exchange, and rises and falls with the turn of the gambler's card. Consolidations succeed consolidations, and as they lessen in number they enlarge in the volume of their real and fictitious accumulations and their more despotic sway over all material and political interests.

"These evils, startling in their magnitude and inevitable in their consequences, must either culminate in one immense aggregation, all powerful and all absorbing, or be arrested and dissolved by the force of an aroused public opinion finding expression at the polls in support of the nominees of this convention.

"The party in power carried the last election by and through the support of the influences which we criticise. Having purchased the right to pursue their various objects, the government has been at all times their powerful ally. Hence the onward march of organized wealth to absolute power, and the exaltation of the dollar above the rights and the welfare of the multitude. Hence the crisis in our commercial affairs, whose issue, presented in acute form to the voters of 1900, is that of industrial despotism as against the liberty of the citizen."

Senator Teller, of Colorado, said: "The people believe that gold and silver coins are the money of the Constitution, and that if paper money is to be issued, it should bear the stamp of the government and have back of it the wealth and power of the nation and not that of a private corporation. The people believe that the United States government is better able to support, regulate and control a paper issue than corporations, however rich the corporation may be, or however wise may be its managers."

Republican Senator Mason, of Illinois, says that we should not take millions of dollars from the pockets of our people to build an interoceanic canal, which, under the rule of military necessity, will be controlled by the nation or allied nations that control the greatest naval power. Under the

Hay-Pauncefote treaty, without the Davis amendment, we invite the nations of the world to guarantee that we shall not possess the legal power to close it against our enemies in times of war, and that we will not even prepare ourselves to physically assist our navy in defending it, even from the assaults of open enemies who may violate the terms of the treaty. It is incomprehensible to Senator Mason, as it is to every intelligent American, how we can afford to guarantee our enemy's war vessels free access through our property to assist them in destroying the lives and property of our citizens.

A CHRISTIAN'S VIEW.

The Rev. Joseph Henry Crooker, of Ann Arbor, Mich., formerly of Troy, has written an able paper on "The Menace to America," and it breathes the spirit of lofty patriotism and a true Christianity. We quote the concluding paragraphs:

"Let us look this imperialism squarely in the face and realize what it means. It means the surrender of American democracy. It means a menace to free American citizenship. It means the degradation of American civilization. It means the loss of American influence in behalf of liberty throughout the world. It means the severest blow ever struck at the cause of human freedom. It means that all the scattered enthusiasts for human progress will weep bitter tears and fold their hands in despair because the star of hope in America grows dim. It means that America desert the vanguard of civilization and sell her blood-bought birthright for a pot of gold.

"This is imperialism—using democratic forms of government to rule men from without, leaving them destitute of citizenship as mere subjects, making our flag a lie to them—slavery under a new

disguise—inhabitants only, outside the Constitution, with no rights that Congress need respect! If this continue, how long before even the democratic forms of government will fade away? Is America ready for this tremendous stride backward?"

THE NEW DOCTRINE.

A political doctrine is now being preached which furnishes the most alarming evidence of moral decay that has ever appeared in human history. Its baneful significance consists, not simply in its moral degeneracy, but in the fact that its advocates are so numerous and prominent. A writer in Lagos Weekly Record discusses this doctrine, and says: "A powerful nation representative of civilization has the right, for the general good of humanity, to buy, conquer, subjugate, control and govern feeble and backward races and peoples, without reference to their wishes or opinions." This is preached from pulpits as the gospel of Christ. It is proclaimed in executive documents as ideal statesmanship. It is defended in legislative halls as the beginning of a more glorious chapter in human history. It is boastfully declaimed from the platform as the first great act in the regeneration of mankind. It is published in innumerable editorials, red with cries for blood and hot with lust for gold, as the call of God to the civilized nations.—Illinois State Register.

BETRAYING FRIENDS.

The whole country knew at the time that Admiral Dewey described and treated Aguinaldo as our ally against Spain and that it was universally expected, in consequence of this and other overt acts of friendship for us, the natives under their chosen

leaders were to be aided by us to secure their independence.

On this understanding the whole country applauded Admiral Dewey and approved President McKinley.

Equally well known is it now that, having used the natives as friends and allies against Spain, the McKinley administration perfidiously betrayed them, began organizing a military campaign to take away their liberties and to subject their country to despoilment for the benefit of commercial exploiters who could be relied on to subscribe the funds to reelect McKinley.

Admiral Dewey's official reports show that at his invitation the patriot leader, Aguinaldo, was brought to Cavite in a vessel of our navy to confer with Admiral Dewey for common action against the Spaniards.

The whole country was delighted over this fraternal spectacle and hailed through its lines the day when the republic of Washington and Lincoln would aid a republic of the Philippines in establishing its independence.

The dispatch of June 27, 1898, from Dewey to Secretary Long reads: "I have given him (Aguinaldo) to understand that I consider the insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy."

The incredible audacity with which McKinley's apologists suppress or pervert this dispatch, Dewey himself evading the fact by saying he had made no "promise," when the dispatch itself shows precisely what he did do, casts shame upon the government of the United States.

When General Anderson arrived at Manila bay with the first installment of land forces he wrote, July 4, 1898, to Aguinaldo: "General, I desire to have the most amicable relations with you and to

have you and your people co-operate with us in military operations against the Spanish forces."

That Dewey and Anderson bound us as allies to the Philippines to secure their freedom from Spain is as clear as the noonday light. That the McKinley administration approved the binding is equally certain, and that the American people indorsed the then attitude of the administration without respect to party is beyond denial.

When Spain had quit the islands McKinley's speculative commercial friends saw a great chance to pillage and to barter in the rich country of our allies. With a perfidy scarcely surpassed in history our flag was suddenly turned into an imperial symbol. Our faithful helpers in the hour of need were transformed into "rebels" and our army was sent to hold down those brave and kindly people for opportunities to despoil them in our name.

Instead of aiding them to establish their independence, which they had practically won before Dewey met Aguinaldo, we reduced them to a status of slavary to this republic.

The stain on our flag in relation to the Philippines must be effaced, if our own liberties are to be respected and preserved.

DO WE ALL HATE MONARCHY?

It is hard for Americans to believe that their institutions can really be in serious danger. It seems to them as if republicanism were the natural and unchangeable condition of this continent. They think of monarchy as something so utterly foreign to our conditions that it is folly to regard it as a possible danger.

A survey of history does not lend much encouragement to this cheerful view. Ours is not the

first republic that has existed in the world, nor the oldest. It has lasted now for a hundred and twenty-four years. There was a republic in Athens, with some intermissions, for nine hundred years, in Carthage for seven hundred, in Rome for five hundred, in Florence for three hundred, in the Netherlands for two hundred, and in Venice for eleven hundred. Where are those republics now?

It is not flattering to our vanity, but the truth is that we are an upstart, parvenue nation, whose endurance has yet to be tested. If our government should go to pieces, after lasting even another century, it would go into history as one of the shortest-lived of the innumerable wrecks with which the annals of mankind are strewn.

We may think that our brand of human nature is so different from human nature in general as to make us immune against ills that other nations have not been able to resist. But that is another delusion. The Roman of the fourth century before Christ was of a sterner, more unyielding republican fiber than the American of to-day. He was more jealous of the slightest infringement on his rights. He did not treat betrayals of trust on the part of his servants as jokes—his sense of humor was rudimentary. When his resentment was aroused it was relentless.

And yet this Roman's descendants became the abject slaves of the most degrading despotism that ever ground down a civilized people.

"There was a Brutus once that would have brook'd the eternal devil to keep his state in Rome. As easily as a king."

Within two years from the time when a descendant of that Brutus struck the last blow for republican liberty Antony was laying a third of the Roman world at the feet of a harlot queen, and

before some of the children then living were dead Caligula was making his horse a consul.

There was never a more turbulent, independent democracy than that of Athens. The people there were not dependent upon trust-owned senates. They got together in their own popular assemblies and made their own laws. They did not hesitate to try and execute victorious generals for slight breaches of customary requirements. But the time came when Athenian philosophers were the humble flatterers of Macedonian and Roman rulers, and when Athens degraded even her primacy in taste to the point of giving her highest honors in music and poetry to the imperial mountebank, Nero.

Who would have thought, to look at the raving democracy of the French Terror, when it was as much as a man's life was worth to call a lady "madame" instead of "citizeness," that in five years France would be walking with bowed head under the rule of a military despot?

Nor are we without hints nearer home of the possibility of radical changes in the government of a people. Americans were not always republicans. Two years before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence they were protesting their enthusiastic loyalty to the crown of Great Britain. After the revolution thousands of the foremost inhabitants of the colonies, unable to reconcile themselves to a republican government, emigrated to Canada, where their descendants are now the most extreme supporters of monarchical rule.

American women, after a long and honorable apprenticeship at the washtub, have availed themselves of the first smiles of fortune to hold and kiss the hand of royalty. Foreign noblemen find their titles readily transmutable into American cash. Americans like William Waldorf Astor and Bradley

Martin have exchanged their republican birthright for the right to call themselves subjects of the English queen. Trusts that are working for the re-election of William McKinley would just as cheerfully work for the coronation of an emperor if they thought that step would promote their interests.

If a visitor from Mars had been permitted to see Rome at the beginning of the first Punic war and then had been able to see America to-day, which country would he have considered more likely to hold on to its republican institutions?

The republics of the past have fallen from various causes, but one rule we believe to have been invariable:

NO REPUBLIC HAS EVER GOVERNED SUBJECT PROVINCES AND PRESERVED ITS OWN FREEDOM.

Empire abroad has ended in empire or collapse at home.

But do we believe that William McKinley, if re-elected, will be formally crowned as the Emperor William the first? Certainly not. This is not usually carried through in that way. Despotism is the same, but the type of despot changes. When the Roman republic was ripe for its fall the people did not crown a king. First one general and then another came into power through the form of law. After the excesses of Marius and Sulla there was a temporary revival of constitutional government under Cicero. Then the same conferred the powers of a number of different officials upon Caesar—so many that he was in fact a monarch, although in name only the head of a republic. Then, after a period of anarchy, this concentration of power in

the hands of one man was systematized and made permanent. Rome became in fact a despotism, but it was long before it ceased to be nominally a republic, and the head of its government was never king, but always "imperator-general."

Nor did Florence in losing its liberty become at once a monarchy in name. The Medici at first were simply commercial bosses—an infinitely superior grade of Mark Hannas.

In this country we can already see the beginning of this descent in the abdication of power by our legislative bodies. It is all "trust the President."

Don't regulate the government of the Philippines by law—leave it to the President.

Don't interfere with Cuba—let the President attend to it.

Don't let the Porto Ricans choose their own rulers—let the President appoint them.

Don't say how the $50,000,000 national defense fund is to be spent—give the President entire discretion.

Don't fix a price for armor plate—leave it to the President's Secretary of the Navy.

Don't lay down a policy in China—let the President decide what our relations shall be with a third of the human race, and use the army and navy to enforce his policy.

If this keeps on much longer it will make no particular difference whether we have the name of emperor or not. We shall have the fact of empire. —From the Chicago American.

The following platform was adopted by the Anti-Imperialist League:

"We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free.

We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the subjugation of any people is 'criminal aggression' and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

"We earnestly condemn the policy of the present national administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands. We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration even in an unjust war. We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods.

"We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.

"The United States have always protested against the doctrine of international law which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right.

"Imperialists assume that with the destruction by American hands of self-government in the Philippines all opposition here will cease. This is a grievous error. Much as we abhor the war of 'criminal aggression' in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American

hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals.

"Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration who have made their homes here, are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions.

"We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their government in times of grave national peril applies to the present situation. If an administration may with impunity ignore the issues upon which it was chosen, deliberately create a condition of war anywhere on the face of the globe, debauch the civil service for spoils to promote the adventure, organize a truth-spreading censorship and demand of all citizens a suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

"We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose for re-election all who in the White House or in Congress betray

American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends. We still hope that both of our great political parties will support and defend the Declaration of Independence in the closing campaign of the century.

"We hold with Abraham Lincoln that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. Our reliance is in love of liberty, which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.

"We cordially invite the co-operation of all men and women who remain loyal to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States."

COSTLY BUSINESS EXPANSION.

During the fiscal year just closed Manila imported merchandise to the amount of $17,500,000. The United States furnished goods amounting to $1,350,364. In order to secure a market for $1,350,364 worth of American goods we have expended upward of $150,000,000, sacrificed more than 2,000 American lives, violated the constitution of the United States, deserted the principles of the declaration of independence, trebled the size of our standing army, ruined the health of upward of 5,000 American soldiers and entangled ourselves in the politics of Europe.—Omaha World Herald.

J. Alejandrino and Andres Garchitorena, two spokesmen for Aguinaldo and later generals under

him, were invited to go aboard the Olympia in the bay of Hongkong.

The following interview in French took place through the Flag Lieutenant, Mr. Brumby, acting as interpreter:

"Filipino: 'Admiral, it having come to our knowledge that a war between your country and Spain is imminent, we, who have fought the latter for our independence, are willing, in obedience to the desires manifested by you to General Aguinaldo through Mr. Wood, to take part in the war as allies of America, so long as it be carried on with the object of freeing from the yoke of Spain her colonies, giving them their independence.'

PROMISES INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM.

"Admiral Dewey: 'The American people, champions of liberty, will undertake this war with the humanitarian object of freeing from the Spanish yoke the peoples under it, and will give you independence and freedom, as we have proclaimed to the world at large.'

"Filipino: 'We are grateful for this generous manifestation of the great American people, and, being made through an Admiral of their navy, we value it more than a written contract, and thereupon place ourselves at your entire disposal.'

"Admiral Dewey: 'I place at your disposal the ships of my fleet for the conveyance of both the Filipino leaders and the arms you may get. Moreover, I think my government is willing to supply you with arms and ammunition.'

"Filipino: 'We are thankful to you for this new generosity of the American people, and you may be sure that we are ready to fight at your side for the independence of the Philippines, even without

arms, as we have done during the recent revolution.'

"Admiral Dewey: 'America is rich in every respect; she has territories sparsely inhabited. Besides, our constitution prevents "territorial expansion" outside of America; therefore the Filipinos may be sure of their independence, and not a bit of their land shall be taken from them.'"

THE FILIPINOS.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan, a great-grandson of the illustrious dramatist whose name he bears, an English barrister and man of means, made an exhaustive study among the Filipinos of their rights and wrongs under the Americans. He went there, he says, "an enthusiastic advocate of America's humane policy." He returns from there to write a book, "The Filipino Martyrs," in which he proves that he has lost none of his faith in the American people, but views with absolute abhorrence the present administration. His book is an appeal to the common man, the final arbiter, from the deeds to which the men about McKinley have pledged the American name in the islands of the sea.

Mr. Sheridan went to Manila in the United States dispatch boat Zafiro, through the courtesy of Consul-General Rounsevelle Wildman. At that time, as he avers, "I believed the United States had acquired the Philippine Islands, not only by right of conquest, but by right of purchase, and I admired the generous gift of twenty million dollars made to conquered and bankrupt Spain. But, after a short time in Manila, I discovered that the Filipinos had been grossly misrepresented. I had been frequently told the Filipinos were a turbulent race of semi-barbarians, instinctively savage, and without the smallest desire to become civilized or to recognize the necessity either for religion or refinement. I found

men of refinement and cultivation; individuals of intellect and education, who objected to the administration's policy of extermination and to the arrogance of General Otis.

As a conscientious observer, without prejudice, he says: "It is time the American people, and not the government, took in hand this question, and insisted upon the publication of all letters and cables sent to the Philippines, and the replies received at Washington—then, and then only, will the American people be the true arbitrators of a cause which threatens to obliterate some of the most illustrious pages in American history."

CHRISTIAN REBELS AND MOHAMMEDAN BROTHERS.

It is worthy of note that the Christians in the Philippines are not permitted to govern themselves, or to have any voice in their own affairs by order of McKinley, while the Mohammedans have only had their independence of all American law assured them, but are being paid from the United States treasury in the bargain.

AGUINALDO PROMISED FREEDOM.

"What will be the reward of our people?" asked the two Filipino commanders when the American commander offered them all the arms and ammunition they required to fight with, if they would help the United States against Spain.

"I have no authority," Dewey replied, "but there is no doubt if you co-operate with us and assist us by fighting the common enemy that you will be granted your freedom the same as the Cubans will be."

Mr. Sheridan met Mr. Pratt in Singapore last April, and Mr. Pratt said to him:

"I did not send Aguinaldo to Dewey until he sent word to me that he wanted Aguinaldo to come. I was in no sense a party to any arrangements reputed to have been made between Aguinaldo and the American government or its representatives, and on the departure of Aguinaldo for Hongkong I duly notified my government of the fact."

DEWEY AUTHORIZED CONFERENCE.

"Commodore Dewey authorized a conference on April 25 (1898) with Aguinaldo and Isadore Santos, representing the Spanish Filipinos and Spanish half-breeds, and concluded an agreement in the following clauses:

"(1) The independence of the Philippines shall be proclaimed.

"(2) There shall be established a centralized republic, with a government whose members are to be provisionally appointed by Don Emilio Aguinaldo.

"(3) This government is to recognize a temporary intervention by American and European commissioners to be appointed by Commodore Dewey.

"(4) The American protectorate is to be established under the same terms and conditions as it is accepted in Cuba.

"(5) The ports of the Philippines will be open to the commerce of the whole world.

"(6) Measures will be taken regarding Chinese immigration in order that it shall not injure native labor.

"(7) The administration of justice will be reformed and, pending these reforms, it will be in the hands of competent European judges.

"(8) Liberty of the press and of association will be proclaimed.

"(9) The same applies to religious freedom.

"(10) The working of the mineral resources of the archipelago will be regulated.

"(11) To facilitate the development of public wealth, new roads will be opened and the construction of railways encouraged.

"(12) The impediments now placed to the formation of industrial enterprises and the taxes imposed upon foreign capital will be removed.

"(13) The new government undertakes the duty of maintaining order and preventing any reprisals."

GOVERNMENT NEVER IN IGNORANCE.

On June 14, 1898, Secretary Long telegraphed to Dewey in these words, as Mr. Sheridan obtained them from the official records:

"Report fully any conferences, relations or co-operations, military or otherwise, which you have had with Aguinaldo, and keep department informed in that respect."

To this Dewey replied on June 27, 1898, as follows:

"Receipt of telegrams of June 11 acknowledged. Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, with thirteen of his staff, arrived May 19 by permission. He established himself at Cavite outside arsenal, under protection of our guns, and organized his army. I have had several conferences with him, generally of a personal nature. Consistently, I have refrained from assisting him in any way with the force under my command, and on several occasions I have declined requests that I should do so, telling him the squadron could not act until the arrival of the United States troops. At the same time I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. He has gone to attend the meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil

government. Aguinaldo has acted independently of the squadron, but has kept me advised of his progress, which has been wonderful. I have allowed him to pass, by water, recruits, arms, ammunition from the arsenal as he needed. Have advised him frequently to conduct the war humanely, which he has done invariably. My relations with him are cordial, but I am not in his confidence. The United States have not been bound in any way to assist insurgents by any act or promises, and he is not, to my knowledge, committed to assist us. I believe he expects to capture Manila without any assistance, but doubt ability, they not having many guns. In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races."

Even after the fall of Manila, General Merritt issued a proclamation, on Aug. 14, 1898, in which he said:

"The commander of the United States forces now in possession has instructions from his government to assure the people of the Philippines that he has not come to wage war upon them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights."

With Otis in command there began an excruciating series of blunders, as Mr. Sheridan sets them forth. The armies of the Filipinos were tired of war and anxious to disband. They saw with wonder the great numbers of soldiers the United States continued to pour into the port of Manila, after the fighting was all done and the terms of peace actually under discussion. There was a feeling of the utmost friendliness toward the Americans who had just freed the Filipino people from a long and almost hopeless servitude.

ONLY ASKED FOR RECOGNITION.

"They merely desired, and properly so," as Mr. Sheridan says, "some recognition and explanation as to the future policy of the American government, some grateful courtesy at the hands of those whom they had assisted in conquering the enemy."

So long as Admiral Dewey was on the ground and in authority the attitude of the American forces was one of conciliation. But before he sailed away General Otis was given a free hand, regardless of his advice. No Filipino attaches any blame to Dewey for the subsequent occurrences, and all view him as having done well under the exceedingly difficult circumstances raised by the vacillating and contradictory attitude of McKinley, Hanna and the rest of the Washington government.

WAITED IN VAIN FOR PROMISE.

So the Filipino army lay, day after day, month after month, waiting for some word from Washington that would justify it in laying down its arms. Nothing came. McKinley and his advisers could say nothing that would show the men and women of the islands what the intention of America might be. Relations grew strained under the continued attacks of a semi-official nature that Otis and McKinley permitted to appear in the Manila press.

NATIVES ORDERED OUT.

Nor did this answer. A second order was issued by Otis, almost before the natives were settled, ordering them to move again. Aguinaldo sent a respectful letter to Otis, complaining that Otis could not possibly understand what suffering he was inflicting upon his patient people. No reply was sent. But the army withdrew the second time.

Soon after the launches of the Filipinos, which had been permitted to ply in the bay, were seized and the officers whom Aguinaldo sent to learn the reason treated with indignity. Thereafter no American soldier, though there had been a general order from the beginning to salute all Filipino officers in passing, was in any way allowed to recognize the existence of a Filipino.

OTIS SCORNED ADVICE.

Otis, though a new comer, scorned them all, and the author is forced to remark that "had General Otis consulted Mr. Higgins, or men like him, the American commander would have acquired much useful information, with the result that there might have been long since a peaceful termination to these unwarrantable hostilities.

The fact, sufficiently notorious in America in spite of the censorship, that the volunteers refused to serve longer under such a general, regarding him as an exemplar of "blundering despotism and incompetence," brings out this observation:

"Yet the American government, though in possession of facts which would cause the withdrawal of any general in the world so placed, declined from time to time to recall him. It allowed him until very recently to continue to misgovern and to mismanage its affairs in the Philippines, to the detriment of American interests and to the disgrace of the American people."

PROCLAMATION THE LAST STRAW.

But they did not have to wait so long. Before the treaty had been ratified by the Senate and made a part of the law of the land, McKinley issued his famous proclamation of "benevolent assimilation" on January 4, 1899. This, it will be recalled, was

of so violent and compromising a nature that it gagged even Otis, who modified it to a considerable extent. But even in its softened form it contained the phrase, "There will be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority to repress disturbance and to overcome all obstacles;" while the only promise it contained was the distant "bestowal of increased powers" until the Filipinos had "a government as free and independent as is enjoyed by the most favored provinces of the world." "Provinces" showed that there was nothing to be expected, and "the strong arm" was taken by every Filipino to mean a declaration of war and nothing else.

THOUGHT IT DECLARED WAR.

This was the beginning of the end. The next day, the very next morning, Manila was placarded with a counter proclamation by Aguinaldo, in which the McKinley document was expressly recognized as a declaration of war against the aspirations of the Filipino people for a measure of self-government, however small, and the outbreak of open hostilities was inevitable and close at hand.

Therefore all the suffering and misery, all the death and insanity, all the demoralization which tropical life and life in camps brings to youth, all these things and more are on the heads of those who made them possible, on the stubborn and invincibly ignorant Otis and his vacillating and inefficient chiefs.

NO SYMPATHY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

Mr. Sheridan remained in Manila long enough to meet the first batch of commissioners which McKinley sent out to lock the stable after he had let the horse run away. He found Denby without

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the "least sympathy with human rights in any form." He found Worcester "quite unacquainted with the new Filipino race which had arisen during the last twenty years" and convinced that they were an "uncivilized people." Schurman was both able and honest, but hopelessly alone. Dewey had stated his own requirements in the premises when he said:

"I consider it absolutely necessary that a first-class statesman be sent to Manila to investigate the situation thoroughly."

But he said that in December, 1898, before McKinley had begun to talk about "provinces" and "the strong arm," or to proclaim the monarchical doctrine that he and Congress were so superior to the constitution that they could own foreign dependencies containing Mohammedan polygamy, chattel slavery, moral debauchery and all kinds of caste relations and orders from servile eunuch to autocratic sovereign, and govern them under the Stars and Stripes without any reference to the organic law upon which this government was founded.

IF THE PEOPLE ARE DEAD IN THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY, THE PRESIDENTIAL EMPIRE IS INEVITABLE.

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